

Remembering the past: Apartheid and the careers of six Coloured performing musicians in the field of Western art music

By

Caron Lisa Tremble

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Supervisor: Prof. Winfried Lüdemann
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
Department of Music

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Declaration

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Abstract

In recent years (especially after the end of apartheid) there has been a resurgence of interest in the history of Coloured people and most recently, Coloured opera musicians. However, the history of Coloured performing musicians has been under-researched. These musicians were allowed very limited access to participate only in institutionalised Western classical music due to harsh apartheid legislation. Many excelled in their chosen field, and as a result of not being able to follow their desired career path in South Africa owing to apartheid, they worked very hard with the hope of leaving South Africa. In some instances, these musicians were the first to break racial barriers in the South African music scene. Many of them now enjoy successful careers nationally and some internationally.

This research does not cover all musicians of colour (inclusive of Black) that studied during the apartheid era but is limited to a selection of Coloured musicians who had their formative years during this time. The selected musicians are the late Sidwill Hartman, John Theodore, Michele Williams, Leon Bosch, Franklin Larey and the late George Stevens.

I augmented the rather limited amount of information on these musicians available in the public domain with information gathered through extensive interviews, either with the musicians themselves, or, in the cases where they had already passed away, with close family members and friends.

The nature of the interviews determines the format of the thesis: in order to preserve the authenticity of the respondents' voices their stories are presented verbatim. These are framed by three conventional introductory chapters and a conclusion.

Opsomming

In die afgelope jare (veral na die einde van apartheid) het die belangstelling in die geskiedenis van Bruinmense en meer spesifiek dié van Kleurling opera-musici weer opgevlam. Daar is egter nog min navorsing gedoen oor die geskiedenis van Kleurling musici as uitvoerende kunstenaars. Hierdie musici het beperkte toegang gehad tot deelname aan geïstitutionaliseerde Westerse klassieke musiek as gevolg van die drakoniese apartheidswetgewing. Ten spyte hiervan het baie van hulle steeds uitstekend gevaar in hul gekose vakgebied. As gevolg van die feit dat hulle weens apartheid nie hul gewenste loopbane in Suid-Afrika sou kon volg nie, het hulle baie hard gewerk met die hoop om te emigreer.

In sommige gevalle was hierdie musici van die eerstes wat deur die rassegrense van die Suid-Afrikaanse musiektooneel gebreek het. Baie van hulle bedryf nou suksesvolle loopbane nasionaal of, in sommige gevalle, selfs internasionaal.

Hierdie navorsing dek nie alle musici van kleur (insluitend Swart) wat gedurende die apartheidsera studeer het nie.

Die gekose musici is wyle Sidwill Hartman, John Theodore, Michelle Williams, Leon Bosch, Franklin Larey en wyle George Stevens. Die musici wat vir hierdie onderwerp gekies is, het hul vormingsjare beleef gedurende apartheid en ten spyte van die moeilike omstandighede, hulself ook in hierdie tydperk akademies bekwaam. Ek het die taamlik beperkte hoeveelheid inligting wat in die openbare domein beskikbaar is, uitgebrei deur omvattende onderhoude, het ek met die musici self, of, in die geval waar hulle reeds oorlede is, met nabye familielede en vriende.

Die aard en verloop van die onderhoude bepaal ook die formaat van die proefskrif; om die egtheid van die stemme van die respondente te behou, word hul verhale verbatim aangebied. Die verhale word voorafgegaan deur drie inleidende hoofstukke en afgesluit met 'n gevolgtrekking.

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1.1 Introduction

The history of Coloured¹ people in South Africa is under-researched; this is also true in respect of Coloured musicians. In many histories, Coloured people have been written out of the narrative and appear merely as bystanders. As a result, many Coloured people do not know much about their history. Mohamed Adhikari states that,

This tendency was noted as early as 1913 by Harold Cressy², a coloured educationist and school principal, when he called on the coloured³ teaching profession to dispel the myth that coloured people played little or no part in the history of South African society (2009:1).

When the realisation dawned upon me that very little had been written about Coloured musicians in the Western art music tradition who broke some of the first racial barriers in the classical music industry in South Africa, I decided to try and fill the gap by embarking on a research project in which I investigate the careers of a number of Coloured musicians, specifically those who broke the barriers as performing musicians and managed to carve out successful careers for themselves nationally and some even internationally.

Having been born after the end of apartheid, post-1994 in South Africa, I cannot imagine a world where one's skin colour dictates what you can do and where you can go. I wondered what these musicians' experiences were, where they had studied, whether they could attend concerts, whether they could take part in competitions, participate in orchestral courses, and other musical activities. After preliminary research, I selected the following musicians⁴ as subjects for more intensive investigation into their training, careers, and legacy: John Theodore (born 1956), Leon Bosch (born 1961), Sidwill Hartman (1956-2019), Franklin Larey (born 1961), Michele Williams (born 1956), and George Stevens (1966-2018). These musicians and many others grew up and studied Western art music during the apartheid era. The institutionalisation of this kind of music existed for the sole benefit of White people, and access

¹The term 'Coloured' is used to define persons of mixed- descent in South Africa. Although this term is derogative, it is the most recognised term and will be used for descriptive purposes unless interviewees wish to be identified otherwise. The term is capitalised to show the importance of cultural identity within the Coloured community. Throughout this thesis, I will refer to these musicians as Coloured musicians. During interviews the musicians were asked how they preferred to be identified racially. One of the respondents wishes to be identified as Black and all the others as Coloured. Each person has the right to choose how they wish to be identified; previously, identities were ascribed to people.

² Harold Cressy was the first person of colour to graduate with a degree from the University of Cape Town in 1911.

³ If the word Coloured appears in a direct-quote and the letter 'C' is not capitalised; it will remain the same in my thesis.

⁴ The selection criteria are explained in Chapter 3.

for people of other groups was severely restricted. They had to overcome the harsh legislation against people of colour⁵ during apartheid.

A telling example of some of the restrictions that musicians of colour faced during apartheid emerges as follows:

In 1966 the minister of community development first had to give his permission before the concert pianist Jan Volkwyn⁶, a coloured man who had just returned to South Africa from London could perform with the Johannesburg Symphony Orchestra in front of a coloured audience in the coloured suburb Coronationville. The permit stated that Volkwyn could not perform as a member of the orchestra but merely be accompanied by the orchestra. It was also agreed that he would not be allowed to mix socially with members of the orchestra, nor could he use the same dressing rooms or other facilities as they did (Pretorius, 2014:331).

Another example of these kinds of restrictions is evident in Roos and Muller's book *Eoan: Our Story*:

From 1965 onwards, Eoan had to apply for permits from the Cape Town municipality to allow coloured people to enter 'white' buildings and for coloured singers to perform in these venues. Coloureds had to use a separate entrance and the audience was seated in separate blocks in the hall. The white audience sat in the centre block, while coloured people were placed either at the back or the sides of the hall (Roos and Muller, 2013:23).

At this point I turn to the question of Coloured identity. I will not go into a full discussion on apartheid policies of race classification that considers all the intricacies of the matter as this would go beyond the scope of my work. A few academics have researched Coloured identity in South Africa; among them are Mohamed Adhikari and Zimitri Erasmus, whose work I have chosen to focus on regarding this topic. The reason for my choice is that their research and views exhibit an awareness of the complexity of the notion of Coloured identity that resonates with me. There are many misconceptions about Coloured identity. Many historians state that Coloured people are the result of miscegenation. However, Adhikari (2009: ix), states that, 'in

⁵ This term is used to refer Black, Coloured, and Indian people, who were oppressed during apartheid due to the racial laws of the time. It is not meant to refer to 'White' as not a colour, it is simply used to refer to a collective group of people who were oppressed.

⁶ His name is not Jan but James Volkwyn. This was confirmed in a phone call with his wife Sheila Volkwyn on the 9th of January 2021.

one sense, coloured identity is a product of European racist ideology which, through its binary logic, cast people deemed to be of mixed racial origin as a distinct, stigmatised social stratum between the dominant white minority and the African majority.’ In many instances, the notion of mixed-race has also been deemed problematic as it implies that race is pure, thus suggesting that identity is static rather than fluid. According to Cornelius Thomas (2014:549), ‘the apartheid government did not impose the term’ albeit they did continue to use the term to their advantage. The term Coloured was given by colonialists⁷, who needed to classify people in order to control them. Furthermore, during apartheid all people in South Africa had to be registered under the Population Registration Act of 1950⁸. As the term Coloured was given, I believe that Coloured people in some sense chose to create their own identity and in another sense their identity was taken as it was given. Similarly, Erasmus (2001:16) states that, ‘coloured identities are not simply Apartheid labels imposed by whites. They are made and re-made by coloured people themselves in their attempts to give meaning to their everyday lives.’ Following this line of thought Adhikari describes Coloured identity as follows.

In another sense, coloured identity is also very much the product of its bearers who, I would argue, were in the first instance primarily responsible for articulating the identity and subsequently determining its form and content (Adhikari, 2005: ix).

In recent years, the term Coloured assumed a meaning that has less to do with the tale of miscegenation and more to do with a social identity. In light of this, in his book, *Burdened by race: Coloured identities in southern Africa*, Adhikari has contextualised four ways in which Coloured identity was described historically; he gives examples of literature from each school of thought and roughly states when each took place. The first approach is the essentialist school; according to Adhikari (2009:7), ‘essentialist writing is primordialist in that it tends to date the origins of coloured identity to the earliest phases of colonial rule.’ This approach believes that Coloured identity is a product of miscegenation. Adhikari takes this concept a step further by

⁷ ‘The colonial state, in its drive to classify and control people, played an important role in demarcating social identities by imposing racially - based legal categories and segregatory policies on the population.’ (Adhikari, 2009: ix)

⁸ The Population Registration Act of 1950 was the following:

It provided for the classification of the population on the basis of racial categories. The racial group of an individual was determined by physical appearance (such as skin colour), general social acceptance and repute. In accordance with this Act racially - based identity documents were issued. The National Party ignored warnings that this classification system would bring hardship and anguish to coloured, black and Indian South Africans. In its defence the NP said this was a small price to pay in comparison to the advantages a strictly separate society would bring. (Pretorius, 2014:330)

identifying three different approaches within the essentialist school. The first is the 'traditionalists', whom Adhikari states, are mainly 'white supremacists' who consider Coloured people from a Eurocentric point of view. In many instances, Coloured people have been written out of the narrative in 'traditionalist' writing.

The second strand is 'liberal essentialists', who have a liberal interpretation of South African history. Adhikari states that some of the best literature on Coloured people has come from this strand because these histories were thoroughly researched; however, 'liberalists' 'approach is nevertheless racialised ... it conceptualises colouredness in terms of race and defines it as a product of miscegenation.' (Adhikari, 2009:9). Furthermore, 'liberalists' are still of the opinion that Coloured people require White tutelage. This approach took place roughly during apartheid, and 'before the mid-1980s.' (Adhikari, 2009:9). The following books are the best-known in the liberal essentialist school of thought: W M MacMillan's *The Cape Colour Question* (1927) and J S Marais's *The Cape Coloured People* (1968). A Coloured writer who wrote in this style was Richard van der Ross who wrote, *Rise and Decline of Apartheid: A study of political movement among the Coloured people of South Africa*. (1986). According to Adhikari (2009:9), Van der Ross 'is the most prominent example of a moderate coloured writer espousing the liberal interpretation.'

The third strand in the essentialist school is the 'progressionist' interpretation, which, covered 'the greater part of the 20th century' according to Adhikari (2009:9) and the majority of historical works written came from the Coloured community. According to Adhikari (2009:9), 'it accepted that coloured people formed a separate race and were socially and culturally 'backward' compared to whites but did not regard this condition as innate or permanent.' 'Progressionists', therefore, held onto assimilationist aspirations. They believed that through education, Coloured people could become 'advanced'; therefore, they deserved inclusion into the dominant race; all they had to do was persevere. 'This interpretation found its most elaborate expression in Christian Ziervogel's *Brown South Africa* (1938) ...the first formal history of coloured people written by a coloured person.' (Adhikari, 2009:10). Although some histories written in the essentialist school were biased, according to Adhikari (2009:10), 'the best writing in this genre was intended to break down racial barriers and expose the injustices suffered by coloured people under South Africa's racial system'.

However, subsequent events in South African history meant that these approaches no longer sufficed. The second school of thought is the 'instrumentalists', who, according to Adhikari (2009:11), 'regarded coloured identity as an artificial concept imposed by the white supremacist

state and the ruling establishment upon an oppressed and vulnerable group of people as an instrument of social control.' The black consciousness movement from the 1970s set to popularise this school of thought. The movement sought to unite Black people all over the country so that the apartheid state could no longer oppress them. The movement was led by Steve Biko, who also believed that the racial divide between Black, Indian and Coloured people was a means of control by the apartheid state. Biko believed that people of colour should join forces, creating a more robust unit that could not be oppressed. Adhikari states that 'although this approach seemed blind to the reality of racial divisions within black South Africa and of coloured exclusivism ... it helped create a united front against apartheid and played a role in undermining white domination.' Adhikari cites examples of literature written during this time which supports the 'instrumentalist' approach; Gavin Lewis's *Between the Wire and the Wall* (1987), Richard van der Ross's *Rise and Decline of Apartheid* (1986), and Ian Goldin's *Making Race* (1987). Adhikari states that the main reason for this increase in historical writing about Coloured people in South Africa had to do with some Coloured people's participation in the Tricameral Parliament in the 1980s and the resistance of others to this parliament. The 'instrumentalist' school of thought soon faded post-apartheid or after 1994. However, a few 'instrumentalists' still remain.

The third school of thought, with which Adhikari identifies, is the 'Social Constructionism' approach. This school of thought emerged as a response to the 'essentialists' and the 'instrumentalists' in the 1980s.

The basic assumption of this genre is that coloured identity cannot be taken as given but is a product of human agency dependent on a complex interplay of historical, social, cultural, political, and other contingencies ... the creation of coloured identity is also taken to be an ongoing, dynamic process in which groups and individuals make and remake their perceived realities and thus also their personal and social identities (Adhikari, 2009:13).

The whole point of 'social constructionists' is to show that identity is fluid and not fixed. The second factor is that people can choose how they wish to identify and what forms part of their identity.

The final approach is 'creolisation'. Creolisation is the mixing and fusing of many cultures to create a unique identity, a cultural identity; Zimitri Erasmus first introduced this approach as a lens to view South African identity. Adhikari (2009:16) states that,

‘Erasmus’s basic premise is that coloured identity is not a product of racial mixture as popular wisdom and much academic writing would have it, but of cultural creativity shaped by South Africa’s history of colonialism and white domination.’ Therefore, Coloured identity is not given but is fluid and is the result of Coloured people who have created a unique identity, blending various social and cultural identities. However, these various aspects combine to assume a meaning of their own. There is a close link between the last two approaches: the ‘social constructionist’ and ‘creolisation’ approach. As a matter of fact, I would consider myself for a blend of these two approaches; Coloured identity cannot be described singularly, as different Coloured people create meaning through various ways of their own. Furthermore, Adhikari has managed to create a working contextualisation of Coloured identity that is systematic. This working contextualisation is quite thorough, although it might be read as ironic that Adhikari himself categorises and applies labels. Still, this might still be the best way to describe how Coloured identity was written about historically in South Africa. Therefore, I have chosen to reference his work at length.

A term can be given, but identity cannot be given. During apartheid, much of what was believed about Coloured identity was still within the ‘essentialist’ approach and moved to the ‘instrumentalist’ approach only at the beginning of the 1970s. Departing from the ‘essentialist’ approach, I believe that Coloured people had already tried to create their own meaning regardless of the situation which dictated their lives. Many of the musicians I interviewed created meaning for themselves, using music as a vehicle of expression. In the next section of this chapter, I present a brief history of the general music life in the Western Cape; this is followed by the first subsection, where I briefly discuss community music and how mission stations played a role in general education and music education. The second subsection consists of a brief overview of the history of segregation and education, focusing on the Western Cape.

1.2 A brief history of the general early music life in the Western Cape.

The cultural life of the Coloured community in the Western Cape has always been vibrant and exuberant. Music formed an integral part of people’s lives then as it does today, which explains the amount of amateur music training taking place before 1994 which continues today. For many musicians in the Western Cape, amateur music training marks the start of their musical journeys, frequently in the context of community or church music. The musicians interviewed

were first exposed to music from these contexts and once they showed interest and talent, their parents found teachers for them where they could. This section presents an outline of the more formal music education that was available to the musicians discussed in this thesis, in addition to that available in a community context. It will be an outline only, since a comprehensive study of all aspects of music training and education provided for the Coloured community during the apartheid era would exceed the scope of the present study.

It is important to note, however, that some of the earliest musical interaction and encounters between colonists⁹ and the Khoikhoi in the Cape have been documented in diaries by colonists. In his book, *Sounding the Cape: Music, Identity and Politics in South Africa*, Denis-Constant Martin (2013) lists first ‘musical encounters or exchanges’ that took place between Europeans and the Khoi-Khoi, for the purpose of entertainment. According to Martin (2013:53), ‘Vasco de Gama’s diarist recorded that the Khoikhoi musicians “[...] began to play upon four or five flutes... so well in fact that they played harmoniously indeed, quite surprising for negroes, from whom one expects little in the way of music, and they danced in the negro fashion [...]”’ In the years to follow, slaves played music¹⁰ at the request of their owners at social events,

There is evidence that slave orchestras were formed... as far back as 1676...the orchestra on such occasions was supplied by slaves who were excellent musicians. The cook exchanged the saucepan for the flute, the groom left his curry-comb and took up his violin and the gardener threw down his spade and sat down to his violoncello (Martin, 2013:70).

This reference is significant when considering the use of these instruments in the early minstrels. Their continued use in the Kaapse Klopse in a sense can almost be attributed to cultural borrowing as a result of colonialization, which Erasmus first espouses as ‘creolisation’. Likewise, the Dutch East India Company had its own musicians who travelled with them, with

⁹Prior to Van Riebeeck’s arrival in 1652, according to Pretorius (2014:41), ‘Barthomolew Dias (1488) and Vasco da Gama (1498) both sailed in small vessels that were exposed to the fierce winds and high seas of the South Atlantic Ocean and the rugged, inhospitable Cape coast.’ In 1652 the Dutch Settlers landed on the Cape. The Dutch established a refreshment half-way station. According to De Villiers (2014:46), ‘first slaves arrived at the Cape in 1658 aboard the ships *Amersfoort* and *Hasselt*. Thereafter, the number of slaves brought to the Cape increased. In 1795 the Cape became a British Colony, till 1900. In 1806 there were 29000 slaves in the colony. According to De Villiers (2014:88), ‘the British government’s decision in 1807 to ban all slave trade per ship to its colonies did not bring an end to slavery in the colony, but it did mean that new slaves could no longer be imported.’

¹⁰In 1825, Martin Douwes Teenstra heard music in Klein Constantia, which was performed by sixteen slaves, owned by Madam Colyn. They played military music on all the necessary instruments, clarinets, flutes, a bassoon, trumpets, a snake and two massive drums. According to Teenstra they played well and were as good as the English corps (Bouws, 1982a:13).

the purpose of announcing the break of a new day, playing military signals and signalling the alarm in case of danger or fires (Bouws, 1982a:6). The first opera and ballet performed in the Cape came only much later, according to Bouws (1982a:24): ‘firstly in 1800 there was a venue to perform operas and ballets, secondly there were enough instrumentalists, some coming from the bourgeoisie and others the military chapel, and thirdly there was an outgoing audience that attended concerts in winter.’ The operas performed in this time were mainly light opera; Bouws lists examples of *opéra comique* and *opera buffa* performed during this time. Bouws does not mention if some of these instrumentalists were slaves. Bouws states that the performance of instrumental music by ‘music masters’ mostly took place in houses before the opening of the ‘Afrikaansche Schouwburg¹¹’ and the ‘teater van die Franse liefhebbers’ (Bouws, 1982a:28).

Percival Kirby writes that,

The development of European music in South Africa may have begun in the time of van Riebeeck; for there is clear evidence in his journals that during his governorship someone possessed both a violin and a “claversingle” or harpsichord, and I myself once picked up on the Parade in Cape Town: a copy of Descartes’ famous treatises on the art of song, printed in Amsterdam in 1661... if this book was brought out here by some early colonist as I imagine it was, it suggests that even then attempts were being made to systematise musical training in our country (Kirby, 1959:5).

It is thus evident that practice of these forms of Western music at the Cape took place to a great extent during colonialism, mostly in the form of light music, dance music, and salon music. ‘In the Cape, European songs and dancing pieces, military music and Muslim religious music coexisted with what remains mostly undocumented: the various genres and repertoires brought by the slaves from their diverse cultures of origin’ (Martin, 2013:77). Music was systematised, as Kirby mentions, and the fact that slaves performed on European instruments is evidence that there was some form of music training taking place. Bouws (1982a: 28) states that ‘in 1802 a German violinist, Carl Christoph Pabst (who was also a baker) started his own music school, with the purpose of training violinists for his amateur orchestra.’ Bouws does not mention where slave musicians learnt to play western instruments, however we can speculate that they were taught by colonists as they were taught the language of the colonist by the colonist, etc. According to Martin (2013:71), ‘slaves were not only “natural” musicians, but were also

¹¹ ‘The Afrikaansche Schouwburg aan die Boerenplein opened in 1800’ (Bouws, 1982a:24).

trained: “[...] there were men [‘affranchis, i.e., free blacks] in the town who gained their living by instructing the slaves in music, though neither master nor pupils knew a single note, playing entirely by ear”’. This information is putative; if there were slaves that could read music or taught music (that could read), one would not know, as most of what is written about slaves comes from diaries of colonists and the entries only refer to slaves with whom they came into contact. There was, and still is, an inclination of astonishment that slaves could play European instruments well or behave in a manner considered to be of high standard in terms of European norms. Slaves were not allowed to practice their own music if they felt like it, and always had to be careful what they played. ‘In those times originality was not easily tolerated by the authorities: when non-Europeans played music these rulers found unpleasant, they were prosecuted’ (Martin, 2013:75).

1.2.1 Community Music

The abolition of slavery marks the performance by the Cape Minstrels, on the Second New Year’s Day (known as Tweede Nuwejaar). People dress up, play various instruments, sing, and dance in the streets of Cape Town. According to Hoberman (2008:11), ‘the Cape Town Minstrel Carnival has its roots in the music and dance style of North American minstrel groups who visited the Cape in the late 1880s.’ They perform every New Year. According to Martin (2013:78): ‘the festivities organised for Christmas and the New Year, in the heart of the southern hemisphere summer, resounded with music. Even before the abolition of slavery, as soon as 1823, it became customary for coloured bands to parade in the streets on 1 January.’

The earliest reference the Cape Minstrels, according to Martin, was noted by Percival R. Kirby, who is quoted as writing even before 1685, “[...] at Christmas time bands of Malays go through the streets of Cape Town performing upon violin, guitar and cello.’ The Cape Minstrels are not the only group who perform during the festive season; the Christmas Bands¹² perform as well. However, they perform in December according to Bruinders (2007:109), ‘ringing in Christmas morning.’ Malay choirs perform through the streets as well according to Bruinders (2007:109), ‘announcing the new year.’ Through these groups a lot of amateur music-making and training took place in the Western Cape. A strong tradition of band and dance music continued

¹² According to Bruinders (2007:110), ‘Many extant Christmas Bands started as vocal groups in the 1920s going from door to door singing Christmas carols to their extended family and neighbours... [and being] referred to as Christmas choirs’.

throughout the Western Cape, as a form of entertainment amongst people in many different communities. One respondent's father had his own band which performed dance music.

In most cases community music was connected to religious affiliations. According to Bruinders (2007:110), 'Christmas Bands are Christian brass and string bands that exist independently of churches but enjoy close affiliations with several denominations.'

These bands stemmed from various religious bands, such as the Salvation Army drum and fife bands, military bands, the Christian Lads Brigades, and the Moravian church brass bands (Bruinders, 2007). In many instances' music is practiced and taught at churches. Examples of the religious affiliations where informal training took place are the Moravian Church, the Salvation Army and New Apostolic Churches. The music training in churches and missionary work were done in communities throughout the country. Many professional musicians today received their initial training from these affiliations.

The first Moravian mission station was started in Genadendal by Georg Schmidt. According to Engelbrecht (2017:7), the missionaries started their first school in Baviaanskloof in 1793 where they taught in Dutch, and scholars learnt all the basic school subjects. Scholars also received music lessons in piano, organ or violin and voice. Brass music tuition also became an important aspect of the Moravian church since its origin in Herrnut in the late 1730s (Engelbrecht, 2017:7).¹³ Many other missionaries started schools throughout the province and the country. Missionaries typically went to areas that were underdeveloped to do Missionary work.

1.2.2 A brief history of segregated education in the Western Cape

The separation and inequality amongst races in the Cape Colony, which would later become the Cape Province, had existed long before the legal implementation of apartheid in 1948. The earliest forms of segregation in schooling can be dated back to 1676. Abraham Leslie Behr

¹³ When Dutch colonists settled on the Cape, they too started a school,

Du Plessis writes that van Riebeeck considered something should be done for the intellectual and moral welfare of the slaves. Less than a month after the arrival of the first batch he opened a school for them—the first school in South Africa. His brother-in-law Pieter van der Stael, the "Sick-Comforter" appointed by the Dutch East India Company, was the first teacher. Du Plessis quotes from van Riebeeck's diary for 17 April 1658: "Began holding school for the young slaves ... To stimulate the slaves to attention while at school, and to induce them to learn the Christian prayers, they were promised each a glass (een croessjen) of brandy and two inches of tobacco, when they finish their task. All their names were taken down, and those who had no names had names given them ... All this was done in the presence of the Commander, who will attend for some days to bring everything into order, and to bring these people into proper discipline. Horrel (1970:3)

(1952 cited in Muriel Horrel, 1970:4) mentions that the church authorities at the time “expressed the desirability of having a separate school for the slaves. The Political Council received the request sympathetically but ruled that the best among the Non-European children were to continue attending.” The attendance of slave children was minimal, girls were in the minority to boys, as it was left to their owners to decide whether they could go to school¹⁴, and many owners chose not to allow this as some slaves tried to use the opportunity to escape (Horrel, 1970:4). According to Behr (1952:72), ‘The introduction of a system of segregation of Europeans and non-Europeans into separate schools took effect only in 1685, when Commissioner Hendrik Adriaan van Rhee de visited the Cape in that year.’ Eventually, this separation between the education of children of Dutch East India Company employees and slaves was extended to all population groups in the growing province and laid the foundation for segregated education right into the twentieth century.

According to Horrel (1970:13), ‘in 1839 a Department of Education was created in the Cape under the control of a Superintendent-General of Public Education... the first incumbent of this post was James Rose-Innes.’ Thereafter segregation in schools became more pronounced; Horrel states that colonists wanted Coloured children to be excluded from public schools. According to Horrel (1970:14), ‘this was opposed by “philanthropists”. Rose-Innes tried to strike a balance by ruling that all pupils “should be decently clothed and of good deportment”’. This ruling made it impossible for Coloured children from disadvantaged families to attend certain schools as White parents objected. Later, fees were charged which parents of colour could not afford, therefore the majority did not go to school. According to Horrel (1970: 14), ‘Marais reports that, by 1861, the Government schools had for all intents and purposes become reserved for white children only.’ Mission Schools were separate affiliations and not under government rule. Therefore, there were still mixed mission schools; however, there is evidence that separate mission schools were being established for scholars who were White.¹⁵

Segregation in schools was implemented in phases, and public schools were not the only types of schools susceptible to it. The Proclamation 388 of 1893, ‘made it possible, in certain circumstances, for white mission schools to be established among the poorer white

¹⁴ ‘In 1682, Governor-General van Goens ruled that all slave children under twelve years of age were to attend school, while those who were older were to receive instruction twice a week. This ruling was apparently not observed’ (Horrel, 1970:3).

¹⁵ According to Horrel (1970: 15), ‘Ross found that the average attendance at the mission schools in 1883 was 32 893 Coloured and 5496 white pupils. By 1910 the number of white children in these schools had decreased to fewer than 550.’

communities' (Horrel, 1970:14). Mission schools taught only at primary school level, with the effect that Coloured students who could not afford public schools, had no opportunity to attend secondary school. The official act which provided for segregation as a law, was the Cape School Board Act of 1905.

In 1911 the right of Coloured children to attend the "European" Government school in Keimoes was challenged. The Appellate Division of the Union Supreme Court ruled that they possessed no such right, basing its decision on its being... "part of the policy of the Cape School Board Act of 1905 to promote the establishment of separate public... schools" for white and non-white children' (Horrel, 1970:14).

Horrel states that this law applied to public schools.

In 1905 according to Hermann Giliomee (2014:291), 'the Cape government made schooling compulsory for white children but not coloured children.' As a result, the number of White children in schools rose rapidly. In 1945, school was made compulsory for all Coloured children between the ages of 7 and 14, if they 'lived within a radius of three miles of an undenominational school, unless the child was receiving other efficient education, or had passed Standard IV, or was engaged in a regular occupation' (Horrel, 1970: 37). The statistics for Coloured pupils in 1935 were 94 821 and in 1954 grew to 208 775 (Horrel, 1970:38). One could question what a regular occupation meant; many Coloured children who left school in standard IV or did not go at all had to do menial jobs.

When the Nationalist Party came into power in 1948 and formalised the segregation of different population groups into the policy of apartheid, which was later called separate development, this of course also affected the provision of education. Segregated education was one of the cornerstones of this policy. To make the implementation of this policy possible the Population Registration Act was introduced in 1950, followed in the same year by the Group Areas Act, according to which separate living areas were to be established on the basis of race.

The segregation of schools was legislated by the Education for Coloured Peoples Act of 1965(1963) and the Education for Indians Act of 1969. In the words of Nazir Hoosain Carrim,

the provision of education to South Africans in racially segregated schools was contained in the Education for Indians Act of 1969, the Education for Coloured People's Act of 1965(1963), and the Christian National Education Act of 1962 for "white" South Africans, the Bantu Education Act of 1953 (later to become the Education and Training Act of 1978) for Africans. In each instance the location of

such racially defined schools was in a racially defined group area, and for a racially defined population group (Carrim, 2007:178).

The Education acts stipulated that people who were classified as Coloured according to the Population Registration Act, could only attend a school for Coloured pupils; they could not cross the racial barrier in any way, which meant attending a White, Black, or Indian school was out of the question and vice versa. The policy of separate education also applied to universities, which in the case of the Western Cape led to the establishment of the University of the Western Cape as an autonomous university as late as 1970. (See more detail further down.)

These acts were not accepted by people of colour, who articulated their response as follows, according to Clare Rossouw (1974:17): ‘it will be remembered too, the Coloured Persons’ Act No. 47 of 1963 was bitterly and vociferously opposed... there seemed to be general agreement with the statement of a prominent Coloured educationist: “I abhor compartmentalised education.”’ Rossouw continues to speak about extramural activities and non-existent libraries or in some cases insufficient libraries at Coloured schools. Coloured people shared the same language and religion with White people, yet they were not equal in the eyes of the state. The apartheid edifice of “separate but equal”¹⁶ did not reflect the reality of the situation which took place in Coloured, Black, and Indian areas regarding schooling. As a result, music education was not as readily available in Coloured schools as it was in schools reserved for White pupils. Government expenditure for the financial year 1956 - 1957 amounted to R53 per Coloured pupil and R123.40 per White pupil. Therefore, the reality of the situation did not reflect the ideology of apartheid, which was supposed to be separate but equal. In 1960 - 1961 the cost per Coloured pupil was R60.60 and the cost per White pupil was R152.40 (Horrel, 1970:57). Government spent the least amount of money on Black pupils, viz. R14,48 per Black pupil (McConky, 1972). These statistics show that education in apartheid South Africa was not equal: White people received a better standard of education, their education syllabi were at a higher level as they were meant to have the best and highest-paid jobs in the country.

Coloured education was run by the Department of Coloured Affairs, which was a government-run administration created in 1958. According to Horrel (1970:98), ‘the administration of the affairs of the Coloured community had been separated from that of other sections of the population.’ The marginality of this group was expressed in the sentiments made by Dr.

¹⁶ ‘The Commission is of opinion that by Coloured education no more and no less must be understood than the education provided for those children whose parents belong to a certain population group’ (Horrel, 1970:53).

Verwoerd (Horrel, 1970:98): [it had become] ... 'clear that the government regarded the Coloured as a separate people from the whites, not part of the "nation", designed to remain a minority group with no full citizenship rights.' Mission schools came under the control of the state; however, many missionaries opposed these laws.

In 1962, an inter-church Joint Committee was formed. The following missionaries were a part of the committee, African Methodist Episcopal Church, the Church of the Province of South Africa (Anglican), the Congregational Union, Lutheran Church, Methodist Church, Moravian Church, Nederduitse Gereformeerde Mission Church and Roman Catholic Church. They issued the following statement, "We are opposed to any policy which might introduce a differentiation of quality and content in education, and would press therefore, that the education of Coloured children should remain a part of the general educational policy... rather than set up a new administrative body with very considerable additional costs" (Horrel, 1970:95).

Many organisations were against the Coloured Persons Education Act and the Department of Coloured Affairs, but their outcries were ignored by the state. The participants were subjected to these laws of separate but unequal education. All the participants that I interviewed for my research took music lessons because they wanted to play an instrument, and they enjoyed the process. Regarding music lessons the laws of the state were followed, but interviews revealed that exceptions could be made only if they were successful in applying for permits to have lessons with a White teacher in a White area, for example. The majority of respondents studied music at the University of Cape Town during apartheid. They had to get a permit approved before they could attend the university. The University of Cape Town was the first University to be established in Cape Town and is one of the oldest Universities in the country. Then called the South African College (incorporated in 1837), the College prepared pupils for the London matriculation exam, and later the college started post-matriculation classes (Horrel, 1970:15). 'In 1873, the University of the Cape of Good Hope was founded' (Horrel, 1970:15). The University of Cape Town was officially established in 1918. According to Giliomee (2014:290), 'initially the Botha government planned to establish only one university in Cape Town... an English one.' After discussions by cabinet, according to Giliomee (2014: 291), 'it abandoned its support for the idea of a single university... Victoria College could also become a university if it could garner funding to £100 000.' The funding was given to the Victoria College by Jannie Marais in 1915 before he passed away (Giliomee, 2014:291).

During apartheid, Coloured students could not attend Afrikaans universities; therefore, even if their home language was Afrikaans, they were not allowed to enrol at any Afrikaans universities in the country. Horrel (1970:42) states that ‘those who aspired to full-time university training had to become proficient in English, since the Afrikaans-medium universities did not admit them.’ This caused great hurt for many Coloured people whose home language was Afrikaans.

The Extension of University Education Act, No. 45 of 1959, ‘provided for the establishment of separate university colleges for non-white students and for the progressive exclusion of these students from the previously open universities’ (Horrel, 1970:63). The statistics Horrel includes depicts the significance of this act: Coloured students enrolled at the University of Cape Town were 306 in 1957, this grew to 461 in 1959, however the number dropped to 327 in 1962. In order to support apartheid education and university acts of separate development, a university was built for Coloured people in Bellville: The University College of the Western Cape. According to Horrel (1970: 91), ‘the University was opened at the end of 1959. After that, non-White students required special ministerial approval before they could be admitted to the previously “open” universities.’ In accordance with the apartheid policy there was one university for Indians and three universities for Black people. The universities for Black South Africans were Fort-Hare University (this was reserved for isiXhosa speakers), the University of the North, and University of Zululand. The university for Indians was Durban-Westville University.

The majority of participants studied at the University of Cape Town because the University of the Western Cape did not offer a BMus Degree. They only offered a BA degree with Music and students had to major in another BA subject. Music training at school level was not readily available to Coloured pupils either. To cater for the need for formal music training at this level in the Paarl area, Frank Pietersen started the Paarl Schools Music Centre in 1970. The centre first started teaching recorder and percussion instruments and as time went by the instruments taught were increased. The Beau Soleil music centre started in 1982 in Kenilworth and Mr. Hugo Lambrechts, a former head of the Western Cape Education Department had seen to the opening of the Hugo Lambrechts Music Centre in 1986 in Parow to serve the Northern suburbs community. Music centres or music schools developed relatively late in South Africa; one of the main reasons for this was the cost of the centres.

The career opportunities for the majority of the research respondents who studied during this time were few. As a result, many studied towards the teaching profession. A number of teacher

training colleges were available to Coloured people in the Western Cape, viz. the Wesley Teacher Training College in Salt River, Battswood Teacher Training College in Wynberg, Hewat Teacher Training College in Athlone, Zonnebloem Teacher Training College in Cape Town, St Augustine's Teacher Training College in Parow, Southern Cape Teachers Training College in Oudtshoorn, Söhnge College of Education in Worcester and the Bellville Teacher Training College.

Although many participants had to follow a career in teaching as their sole prospect, this did not deter them from performing where they could. Many firsts occurred during this time, as a result of ground-breaking change that only started occurring after 1976: competitions started opening, some of the respondents got to play with the Cape Town Symphony Orchestra as soloists and some as ad hoc members of the orchestra or extra players. One respondent applied to the South African National Youth Orchestra prior to 1976 about four times and had her application rejected each time, however in 1978 she was invited to participate. The reason for much of this change, according to Subreenduth (2009:121), was that 'until the early 1970s, the apartheid regime was fairly successful in maintaining the status quo. With the 1976 Soweto uprising, the apartheid edifice started to crumble.' These were the types of conditions under which these musicians had to operate. This combined with what they were able to do during this time has prompted me to consider whether anything has been written about them.

2.1 Literature review

There is a limited amount of literature on the chosen topic: an intensive search for relevant literature has revealed that information on the education, careers, and views on music of Coloured musicians has been minimal. Thus far, no postgraduate research or peer-reviewed articles have been written on this particular aspect of musical life amongst the Coloured community in South Africa. However, in the past few years, a small number of studies have been conducted on related topics. These studies provide some background context, in the sense that they address the broad question of Coloured musicians during the apartheid era. The most comprehensive work done is in the form of Masters' theses, and a book has been written on the history of the EOAN group in respect of its operatic endeavours. Besides, there are a few less formal, more journalistic publications in magazine or newspaper articles on the musicians on whom I am writing in this thesis. The following is a review of the existing scholarship.

2.1.1 Academic Theses

Thus far, there are four theses that could be considered as relating to my topic. Firstly, Inge Engelbrecht's (2017), *Die Komponiste van Genadendal* deals with three composers from the town of Genadendal who stem from the musical tradition of the Moravian church. Because my project deals with performing musicians and not with composers it is natural that her work does not mention these musicians. However, the value of her research for my purposes lies in the context regarding the adverse circumstances under which such composers had to operate during the apartheid era. Furthermore, the way in which Engelbrecht presents her work is interesting to note, although I will be following a different approach for my research.

Engelbrecht divided her thesis into two parts; the first part is written in Afrikaans and discusses the background and training of each composer Engelbrecht has interviewed and studied, 'alongside his acquired knowledge of Western art music compositional practices' (Engelbrecht, 2017: iv). The second part of Engelbrecht's thesis is written in English. 'The decision to do this resulted from a growing discomfort of my own complicity with Standard Afrikaans and the way in which it shaped my engagement with my subjects in the first part of the thesis.' (Engelbrecht, 2017: iv). Engelbrecht's thesis does bring awareness to musicians of colour who were held back due to apartheid laws and circumstances. For instance, Dan Ulster was the first Coloured musician to graduate from the University of Cape Town in 1950, a mere nine years before the Extension of the Universities Education Act. On 23rd August 1954 Ulster conducted the Cape Town Municipal Orchestra, sharing the stage with Alfred Garson, Hans Maske and Ernest Fleischman, and conducting the Violin Concerto in D major, K. 128 by Mozart, with soloist Robert Babendererde. According to Engelbrecht (2017:56, quoting *The Cape Times*,

1954) it was a great success. She refers to the comment by 'Samaai (2015): "That was the first and probably the last time I saw a so-called Coloured man conducting the orchestra" (Engelbrecht, 2017:56).

Petrus Coetzee's thesis *Die Frank Pietersen Musieksentrum: historiese agtergrond en ontwikkelingsbydrae tot die gemeenskap* (2013) provides a great deal of background information on the circumstances under which the first music centre for the Coloured community of Paarl was established. This information is useful in accessing what music education was available to Coloured people during apartheid. However, the centre opened only in 1970 and started with instruments such as recorder but expanded its offerings as the years went by.

The thesis by Pamela Kierman (2009), *Community Brass: its role in music education and the development of professional musicians in the Western Cape*, contains valuable information on the role which local communities, and in many instances' churches, played in creating music education opportunities of an informal nature, falling outside the unequal formal structures offered by the provincial government of the Western Cape. Kierman focuses on brass music, musicians and how these were embedded in a community culture which existed in its own right, had its own forms of training and performance platforms. Kierman's thesis aims to highlight the vast amount of informal brass training in the Western Cape and aims to create greater communication between the formal and informal sectors. Her study resorts within the growing field of interest in community music research in many countries.

Suretha Theron's thesis (2010), *Die Perseverance Kersfeesorkes as verteenwoordigende voorbeeld van gemeenskapmusiek in die Wes-Kaap*, investigates the Perseverance Christmas band, which is one of a large number of community bands in the Western Cape. Theron's thesis covers a similar field to that of Kierman. On the other hand, Christmas bands do not admit only brass, but include woodwind and percussion instruments. Marching and parades are important aspects of this musical tradition as well. According to Theron (2010:4), 'this study focuses on the Perseverance Christmas Band and examines this band in all its different facets within the framework of what, in current musicological terminology, is called "community music."' Theron's thesis gives insight into Christmas Bands in the Western Cape and how they function and differ from the bands of the more famous Kaapse Klopse. She dispels several misunderstandings in respect of the Christmas bands and their embeddedness in various communities. This information is relevant to my thesis to understand the importance of

community music's role in Coloured communities in the Western Cape and how they can serve as initial tuition and music education for many professional musicians.

The book, *EOAN: Our Story*, (2013) edited by Wayne Muller and Hilde Roos, is the most extensive research to have been done at Stellenbosch University on Coloured musicians. The book gives some insight into what it was like for Coloured musicians and aspiring opera singers during apartheid and the many barriers they faced during this time. The book focuses solely on the opera division of the EOAN group, and not on instrumental musicians who are pivotal to my study. There is a generational gap between the musicians of the EOAN group and the musicians in my study. The book documents the lives and careers of these aspiring amateur and professional musicians, who were prevented from fulfilling their dreams owing to apartheid legislation. However, although the group faced significant adversity, they continued to perform where they could. Unfortunately, their greatest problem, a lack of funds, led them to accept funds from the Department of Coloured Affairs, which meant that they had to comply with apartheid legislature. The group performed for separate audiences, and the majority of their community did not accept this. The book's authors decided to organise the information by theme and insert the interviewees' responses in each section in their own words. The result is that the book is an oral history in which the respondents' words have been left unchanged as far as possible. According to Roos and Muller (2012:x), 'In order to do this, we decided to maintain, as far as possible, the spoken-language register of the interviews, with little editorial intervention.' This method of presentation happens to coincide to some extent with the method I will take in my thesis; however, my thesis (see Chapter 3) assumes the format of documentation more than that of an oral history project.

2.1.2 Journal articles

Thus far, there is only one journal article that relates to my topic somewhat indirectly, viz. Leon Bosch's '*The South African double bass: An idea is born,*' which was published in the *Musical Opinion Quarterly*, 1st April 2020. Bosch released his CD, *The South African Double Bass*, in 2020. He commissioned South African composers to write solo works for the double bass, as there was no double bass solo music by South African composers. The composers who feature on the CD are Hans Roosenschoon, Michael Viljoen, Peter Klatzow, Allan Stephenson, Paul Hanmer, Anton Pietersen, Hendrik Hofmeyr, Grant McLachlan and David Earl. Bosch writes:

It was in 2015, more than thirty years into my career performing concertos and solo recitals around the world, and with a string of CD recordings to my name, that I

realised my musical mission was deficient in one significant respect, I had no music in my repertoire that acknowledged my South African roots. (Bosch, 2020:16).

In the review Bosch discusses each composer's work, the significance and meaning behind their compositions. His project had started small; later, he devoted an entire recital to South African compositions for the double bass, which he performed at the convention of the International Society of Double Bassists in Ithaca, New York, USA. The programme included Michael Viljoen's *Canticles for Peace*, Michael Blake's *The Windhoek Tea Party*, Anton Pietersen's *From the Heart*, and Grant McLachlan's *Sonatina* (Bosch, 2020:16). I am not sure if the works he performed at the concert were recorded for the CD. He states that 'news of my recital in the United States reached South Africa, and the journalist Wayne Muller wrote about it in... *Die Burger*' (Bosch, 2020:16). This publicity increased the awareness of Bosch's project. First, he states, 'the second stage of my mission drew in many of the more established composers from the generation that preceded mine, including Hans Roosenschoon, David Earl, Peter Louis Van Dijk and Peter Klatzow.' (Bosch, 2020:17). Thereafter, he decided to commission music for the double bass by young South African composers, in addition to the music he had already commissioned, resulting in music for the double bass by Matthijs Van Dijk and Daniel Hutchinson. According to Bosch (2020:18), 'Many more new pieces have been completed in the meantime, and there are others in the pipeline too.' Bosch has remained active and driven during this time.

2.1.3 Newspapers and Magazine Articles

Several newspapers - *Die Burger*, *Rand Daily Mail*, *Cape Times*, the *Argus*, and others have published articles on the musicians which I am studying. I accessed some of this information at Stellenbosch University Music Library in the DOMUS archives, while some articles were given to me by participants and family members. There are a few feature and review articles on the performing musicians. They vary depending on what the musicians did throughout the years 1978-1999. In many instances, these musicians were among the first to break racial barriers in the performing arts in South Africa.

The earliest of these are feature articles on John Theodore. On 2nd April 1978, Theodore had his debut with the Cape Town Symphony Orchestra in the City Hall, performing Grieg's Piano Concerto in a minor op. 16. Patrick Wise wrote the review titled, *'Theodore's Fine debut'* in *The Cape Times*, saying: 'Theodore showed remarkable confidence and gave us a colourful, refreshing and dramatic reading of the Grieg' (Wise, 1978). In 1981, the following feature article was published in *The Cape Times*, *'Family looks on with affection and pride.'* The

article was written on John Theodore in recognition of his being awarded the Five Roses Young Artist Award. The journalist who wrote the article interviewed Theodore's father briefly. Theodore's father discusses his son's early interest in music, where he took his first piano lessons as a child and his qualifications thus far. On 24th August 1982, Maureen Barnes wrote an article titled "*My dad was with me*" in *The Sunday Times*. Theodore had won the SABC competition; however, his father had sadly passed away a week before the competition. Theodore was interviewed by Barnes, where he discusses his father's sudden passing and his resultant mixed feelings on winning the competition.

Johan Cilliers wrote a review article titled, '*Original and exuberant*' in *The Cape Times* in 1982. Cilliers reviewed Theodore's performance of Rachmaninoff's Piano Concerto no. 2 and the two works the Cape Town Symphony Orchestra had performed before and after Theodore's performance. Cilliers (1982) describes Theodore's performance as a moment of instant realisation that one was 'in the presence of something singled out for wonder and awe.' In 1984 Theodore was the only South African semi-finalist at the Pretoria International Piano Competition. An article titled '*n Puik jong pianis*' was written on the awards that Theodore had received for his achievement as the only South African semi-finalist.¹⁷

The following feature article, '*Visit of mixed feelings*,' was published in *The Cape Times* on 8th August 1984, in which Anne Baron described Leon Bosch's visit to South Africa to perform Bottesini's Double Bass Concerto with the Cape Town Symphony Orchestra. Bosch had mixed feelings about the visit because, 'although it's good to see his family again, he's reminded of the poverty of his people, the neurosis of South Africans' (Baron, 1984). Baron interviewed Bosch on his experience in London thus far.

Michael Arendse wrote a feature article, '*More than one string in Bosch*' in *The Cape Times*, 8th June 1998. Arendse interviews Bosch in the article and writes about his life from the time of his imprisonment, his studies at the University of Cape Town, his success on the double bass, and his studies and work in the United Kingdom. In August 2019, an article on Leon Bosch by Kimon Daltas was published in *The Strad* magazine, in August 2019, titled; '*Irrepressible drive*'. Daltas covers a broad spectrum of information; however, the interview is not in-depth, but covers an outline of Bosch's life and career as a musician, how he came to London, and how he became a successful musician in the United Kingdom. It is evident that Bosch is driven and never settles and that he continually pushes himself to be a better musician.

¹⁷ This information is taken from newspaper clipping without author or date given to me by John Theodore.

In addition to being a solo, chamber, and orchestral musician, he started conducting after he left the Academy of St Martin in the Fields; according to Daltas (2019:30), ‘he is now able to combine conducting with directing his chamber ensemble, I Musicanti, from the bass.’

On 13th October 2020, *The Guardian* published an article by Stephen Moss, ‘*We lived a life of terror*’: *bassist Leon Bosch on making his peace with South Africa*.’ In the article Bosch speaks about his upbringing in apartheid South Africa and how his experience of imprisonment caused him lasting trauma. “‘The workaholic thing, I realise now, looking back, that when you’ve been through this level of trauma working insanely hard is the only way to neutralise the pain”” (Moss, 2020). Bosch discusses his life after imprisonment, and his life as a musician in the United Kingdom. He also discusses his new project, The South African Double bass CD which he recorded with Romanian-Nigerian pianist Rebecca Ormodia, with works by South African composers which Bosch commissioned for the double bass and the piano.

A feature article appeared in *The Cape Times*, 23 November 1976, ‘*Violinist 22, fulfils her dream*’. It referred to Michele Williams (then Michele Balie), who was about to debut playing in the Cape Town Symphony Orchestra, having been appointed in the orchestra on a casual basis. Prior to this occasion, the orchestra had not been open to musicians of colour. ‘Mr. Moni¹⁸ said he did not understand what the fuss was about. “The City Council,” he said, “employs many Coloured people”’ (*Violinist 22, fulfils her dream*, 1976). Williams was the first Coloured woman and woman of colour to play in the Cape Town Symphony Orchestra. The far-reaching historical significance of this appointment may have escaped the newspaper reporter at the time.

A number of newspaper articles appeared on Sidwill Hartman. The *Weekend Argus*, 3rd of May 1986, featured “*Brother and Sister to take lead roles at Nico: Family’s song of success*.” Hartman and his sister Jennifer Hartman performed *Gianni Schicchi* on 10th May 1986. According to Doman (1986), ‘performing together is nothing new. The Hartmans—mom and dad and five children—have sung solos, in duets, quartets, and all together.’ Doman elaborates on Hartman’s journey to success and how it was not always easy: ‘being black was a problem, as was a lack of money’ (Doman, 1986). The journey was challenging for Jennifer Hartman, who Doman (1986) states, ‘couldn’t even carry a tune at first, but sheer grit kept her going.’

¹⁸ Mr. Benito Moni was the manager of the Cape Town Symphony Orchestra from 1971-1977 (Heyneman and Gueller, 2014).

Herman Fourie wrote an article on 4th of May 1987, '*Heartless Pinkerton role a real challenge, says Sidwill Hartman.*' Fourie discusses Hartman's career, his recent successes, and his studies at the Juilliard School. The article cites Hartman stating that the role is a challenge 'because the man I'm portraying runs so contrary to my own personality' (Fourie, 1987:5). Fourie (1987:5) states that 'Butterfly is also memorable for him because he is the first South African-born tenor to sing the lead!'

Jilyan Pitman wrote an article, '*Sidwill completes rise from Kenilworth to Covent Garden*' in *Community - Southern* (1996) in which she interviewed Hartman's sister Jennifer and his father, Sidney Hartman. The article briefly discusses Hartman's rise to success and his studies here and abroad. Furthermore, Pitman (1996) states that 'in the audience for his lead performance as Radames [in *Aida*, at Covent Garden] will be his mother Janet, his father Sidney and sister Jennifer, whom he sent plane and theatre tickets.'

Pieter Kooij wrote an article in *Die Burger* (1996), '*Passievolle Hartman gehoor se liefeling*'. At his tribute, Hartman performed duets with Ronald Theys, Lynne Brown, Jennifer Hartman, and Virginia Davids (Kooij, 1996). The Cape Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by Kamal Khan, accompanied Hartman. The concert was a huge success, and according to Kooij (1996), Hartman received a standing ovation with his performance of *Nessun Dorma* from *Turandot*: 'he assured that he is the darling of Cape opera-lovers' (Kooij, 1996).

Michael Arendse wrote a feature article on Sidwell Hartman in *The Cape Times* (5th October 2001:3). The first half of the article is titled, '*Hartman in tune with life, but misses some career cues.*' The second half (5th October 2001:11) of the article is titled '*Hartman in tune: distressed at growing poverty back home.*' In the article, Arendse interviews Hartman on his career and describes Hartman's approach as 'individualistic' since he chooses to manage his affairs and performances. Hartman discusses his anguish at the poverty in his hometown and expands on what he would like to do in the future and his wish to plough back, adding, 'I see myself more as a facilitator than a voice teacher' (Arendse, 2001:11). Robyn Cohen published an interview with Hartman (*Cape Argus*, 22 June 2002) titled '*Raising the expectations.*' He touches on his career, his experience working in Europe, and a bit of his life before his studies at the University of Cape Town, including the discrimination he experienced during apartheid.

A month later Mary-Ann van Rensburg wrote '*Hartman geluking solank hy kan sing*' (*Die Burger*, 24 July 2002). The article describes Hartman's busy schedule abroad; at the time, he was 46 years old and one of Europe's (especially Germany) most sought-after tenors. He spent

most of his time in Cologne and travelled back to Cape Town for performances with Cape Town Opera. Van Rensburg (2002:4) states that Hartman tries to limit his output to 40 performances per year. Hartman says that he does not take his voice for granted, looks after it, and tries to remain a trustworthy singer (Van Rensburg, 2002:4).

I acquired magazine articles on Sidwill Hartman from *Die Sarie* (by Suzette Truter, 5 July 1995), titled ‘*Opera vir alma!*’ and ‘*Met ‘n hart*’ (Suzette Truter, 16 December 1998), and one in *Men’s Health Magazine* (Karin Schimke, November 2001) titled *Hero 6 Sidwill Hartman*. These articles discuss Hartman’s success in the opera world in Europe and sketch a bit of his life in South Africa before he became a successful opera singer. In Schimke’s article Hartman discusses his struggle with Tuberculosis as a child and how he recovered due to early detection and regular treatment.

In conclusion, no full-scale research has been done on performing musicians from the Coloured community of the Western Cape. The majority of information on these musicians come from newspapers and some magazines. These publications are of a journalistic nature, but do contain a great deal of information; on the other hand they do not fall into the category of scholarly research. Furthermore, the overview of the cited literature indicates that great strides have been made in researching various aspects of the musical culture of Coloured communities under circumstances of legislated exclusion and cultural marginalisation. It is clear that a great deal more needs to be done to document the far-reaching and devastating consequences which the harsh system of apartheid had on people who did not fit into the crude ideological premises on which this unjust system was based. From my perspective as an aspiring concert pianist the lack of research on musicians who created successful careers as professional, even internationally recognised performers is the most glaring. My project will attempt to fill this gap.

2.2 Research question

The lack of research on performing musicians from the Coloured community of the Western Cape that was revealed in the literature review leads me to the following research questions:

- Who were the musicians from the Coloured community who managed to create for themselves successful professional careers as performing musicians? Which of these lend themselves for selection as subjects for the present study?

- How did these musicians come to identify with Western classical music when forging their careers, who taught them and what resources were available to them during apartheid?
- What type of careers did they lead and what forms of adversity did they have to overcome in order to achieve their goals?
- What type of support did they receive from their communities in their formative years?
- How can the information collected during my field work be presented in a way that does justice to the seriousness of the topic at hand, and that contributes toward documenting as well as rectifying the injustices of the past?

3.1 Research Design and Methodology

In response to the research questions presented in the previous chapter this research project is designed around the case studies of a selected number of professional performing musicians from the Coloured community of the Western Cape. The most important selection criterion is that these persons belong to a generation whose formative years as musicians fall into the period before 1994 and were thus determined by apartheid legislation and its educational restrictions in respect of people who were not White. A lesser criterion is of a practical nature: the selected musicians were accessible to me; they were willing to cooperate in this study and were willing to provide the required information.¹⁹ The many similarities in their cases allow the claim that their stories are largely representative of most of their contemporaries. The musicians selected for the project are: John Theodore (pianist, born 1956), Michele Williams (violinist, born 1956), Sidwill Hartman (tenor, 1956-2019), Leon Bosch (double bassist, born 1961), Franklin Larey (pianist, born 1961) and George Stevens (baritone, 1966-2018).

Most of the information that is publicly available on these musicians is of a journalistic nature, and therefore it is unsystematised. In order, therefore, to present comprehensive and systematic overviews of their training, their experiences in the context of apartheid throughout their training and subsequent careers as professional musicians, I decided to complement this information by means of extensive ‘fieldwork’ in the form of semi-structured interviews with the musicians in question.

I was able to interview the musicians with the use of Skype, Zoom and WhatsApp video calls. These interviews were then transcribed meticulously, returned to the respondents for their approval and were subsequently left unedited, except for a small number of obvious language errors. Two of the six musicians have already passed away, in which cases I had to depend on close relatives or friends for the information I required.

The mode of presenting the collected information for the purpose of a scholarly thesis posed a considerable challenge. Several models were considered²⁰, but after completion of the first interview it became clear that the preservation of the authenticity of the voices of the respondents had to be maintained. This became an imperative that was considered to outweigh

¹⁹ A number of other musicians whom I approached were unwilling to participate in the study.

²⁰ One of these models considered was the method known as “Purposive Sampling” (see Babbie and Mouton 1998: 166-167). While this method is said to be of special interest to qualitative researchers, it is geared primarily to sociological research, e.g., “the nature of school spirit as exhibited at a sports meeting” (p. 167). Since my work is of a historical nature this method was not chosen.

all alternative options. I therefore decided to present the interviews of the persons with whom I was able to communicate directly verbatim. Respondents were required to grant permission to present their stories in this fashion. In the two cases where the musicians were deceased, I compiled the biographies as close to the secondary informants as possible, fully accepting the partiality that would enter into the presentation in this way. Altogether, this mode of presentation gives my thesis the character of a documentation. While this may be a rather unconventional format for a thesis, the value of the interviews as testimonies about an era of oppression and injustice and, therefore, as primary source material for further research compels me to choose this format. It is a risk I am willing to take. Not only does it expand our knowledge about this era and the people who lived under its restrictions, but by its very format my thesis is intended to break new ground in the way this knowledge is presented with the aim of preserving it for posterity.

These ideas come close to the narrative approach followed in several other disciplines. In the words of Webster and Mertova,

Narrative inquiry has gained momentum in practice and research in a growing number of disciplines, partly on account of the constraints of conventional research methods and their incompatibility with the complexities of human actions. However, the move towards the use of the narrative approach has also been influenced by a philosophical change of thought to a more postmodern view with its interest in the individual and acknowledgement of the influence of experience and culture on the construction of knowledge. Narratives are also sensitive to the issues not revealed by traditional approaches. [...] Traditional empirical research methods have narrowed the concept of “validity”. They regard tests and measuring instruments as the best tools for validating research findings, operating within formal systems and focusing on empirical rigour. Narrative research, on the other hand, does not strive to produce any conclusions of certainty, but aims for its findings to be “well-grounded” and “supportable”, retaining an emphasis on the linguistic reality of human experience. (Webster and Mertova 2007: 4)

In a similar vein Tony Quinlan distinguishes between grand, local and micro-narratives when he writes:

A grand narrative is usually top-down and as such has value in moving forwards – but only if it’s not too prescriptive. In an ideal world, micro-narrative research precedes the

development of a strategic narrative, but real world constraints often mean it happens the other way around. (Quinlan, 2012).

Two aspects of the narrative approach presented here are particularly pertinent to the argument put forward in this chapter. The first is the notion that a special kind of knowledge is contained in the narratives and voices of individual people. In his discussion of Jean-François Lyotard's explication of *The Postmodern Condition*, Fredric Jameson describes this as a "revival of an essentially narrative view of 'truth'" (in his foreword to the English translation of *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* by Jean-François Lyotard, 1984: xi). It follows that these narratives can be regarded as intrinsically valuable rather than as mere material to be mined empirically for information that is then fashioned into a form that serves the purpose of the researcher. Secondly, postmodern views of knowledge place great value on what Jameson then describes as Lyotard's view of "the vitality of small narrative units at work everywhere locally in the present social system ..." (1984: xi). My methodological approach is informed by these ideas.

It follows that the focus of the thesis is directed mainly at the stories of the musicians. The introductory chapter, the literature review and the conclusion serve to frame and contextualise my work. As a consequence, the Introduction should not be seen as a comprehensive and penetrating study of apartheid. The next chapter consists of the interviews I held with John Theodore (1956), Michele Williams (1956), Leon Bosch (1961), and Franklin Larey (1961) in 2020. The interviews held with family members and friends of the late Sidwill Hartman and George Stevens will not be given verbatim but will be collated and presented as biographies of these musicians. A concluding chapter will then serve to draw together the broad lines that characterise the training and careers of these musicians, to show how they were not only able to overcome the pervasive adversity they faced in order to follow successful careers locally or abroad, but that they should be remembered and honoured as role models for musicians of the present generation.

4. Interviews

The following chapter consists of the interviews I had with four musicians, John Theodore (1956), Michele Williams (1956), Leon Bosch (1961) and Franklin Larey (1961).

4. 1 Interview with John Theodore

This interview with John Theodore was conducted on 17th April 2020 at 4 pm, on Zoom. The following transcription is a verbatim record of the interview; editorial corrections are limited to the minimum and only to facilitate comprehensibility. They are indicated by square brackets.

CT: In which year were you born?

JT: 1956

CT: And you were born in Oudtshoorn?

JT: That is right.

CT: Can you describe your first encounter with music, if you remember, and was it at this moment that you knew you wanted to be a musician or play the piano?

JT: I grew up in a musical family; my father was a full-time teacher all his life and played in a dance band when he was younger, during the wartime days, while my mother, who taught occasionally, was able to read music. I am attaching a photograph of my Pappie's band where he holds the saxophone. I, however, have no recollection of the sound of them as they did not exist anymore when I grew up. He played other instruments too, all by ear, and as we had a piano at home, he would regularly play his popular music and hymns while we would sing along as a family or when friends would come to visit. I would toggle on the piano now and then as children would do, although to his annoyance, but one day he realised that I could make up tunes I heard. I was about five years old, and soon afterward, he allowed me to play [at] his school, Anderson Congregational Primary, for the fundraising of the feeding scheme's concert. I remember being told to tell anyone who asked to say that I was six years old and in Substandard A to not raise suspicion that I could not be eligible to be part of his school's programme. I still have a photo of that event and part of a write-up in the local newspaper, *The Oudtshoorn Courant*, where my name was mentioned, which I am attaching. When I was in Standard two at the age of nine, my Pappie could enrol my two brothers and me for formal lessons at the Holy Cross Convent. Before this, we as brothers would perform in local talent contests and shows organised by the Round Table organisation. I always played the piano and accompanied my brothers in solo or ensemble singing.

My childhood days were marked by the harsh implementation of apartheid laws and community resistance since the declaration of a Republic in 1961. I remember when my brothers came back from school with their flags and medals, we all held a bonfire in the community where I grew up called “Vaaldraai”, organised by the older children to burn the flags and damage the medals as a sign of protest. At primary school, I thought I was going to become a doctor. People always encouraged one to do so, especially when you showed talent academically. Despite me taking part in concerts, doing music exams of Trinity College, accompanying school, church, and community choirs, it was only at High School with the friendship between me and Johann Buis (who was a year ahead of me at school, but we both took lessons at the Convent) and the encouragement of our Headmaster, Mr Harold Muller, I realised that Music would be my career choice. This was also very evident in the support of my high school principal [for] me pursuing a performing career as a pianist [and] his commendation of the school’s launch of a long-playing record (LP) in my matric year (1973) where I shared one half side of the recording with the school choir as part of a fund-raising effort.

CT: Who was your first teacher?

JT: My first teacher was Sister Josephine Schmidt, a German nun who was very strict with us at the Holy Cross Convent here in Oudtshoorn. I took lessons with her till I was in Standard 7 and during my last three school years, Sister Cecily Matzig took over. I believe later that Sister Cecily was granted special permission by her authorities as they were apparently not allowed to tutor boys over a certain age. She was from St. Gallen in Switzerland and played quite a significant role in preparing me to further my studies later at the University of Cape Town. [I] will try to attach a photo of music pupils at the Convent with both nuns.

CT: So, you had a piano at home?

JT: Yes, I still remember the name of the piano, it was a Ludwig Meister.

CT: For this research, I have decided to call the performing musicians Coloured performing musicians. Although derogative, it is the most recognised term. However, if you wish to be identified differently racially, please tell me?

JT: I am very proud of my heritage and ancestry from both my parents comprising local indigenous communities as well as those from the east and west globally. Although I am still uncomfortable with the term, you realise that is what we were referred to as the write-up of my first public appearance shows. A more derogatory term is non-European which was also thrown

at us during that time. I have no problem with it now, as [the] my experiences I am relating to you occurred in a certain era and context.

CT: How did you feel about who you were, a Coloured pianist playing Western classical music which was considered to be music for White/ pure race?

JT: I do not think that was my understanding of the kind of music I listened to and played at the time. We grew up hearing all genres and styles of music on radio, in church and at school. I remember that I did not always want to play my pieces which were prepared for external exams up to a certain age publicly as I preferred the more popular classical pieces we heard on radio. I think my feeling was one of associating the exam pieces with the strict lessons, the stress of exams and me getting bored at times rather than with a certain race. Although my early childhood was one of being exposed to more popular music, by the time I was at high school, my friendship with Johann exposed me to a wide range of classical music especially recorder music, as I usually accompanied him on piano. We were also allowed to attend performances of people from different race groups then in opera, ballet and music e.g., the EOAN group and CAPAB (Cape Performing Arts Council for Whites only) although as part of segregated tours. I remember Johann Buis' father who was a school principal having organised many of these occasions.

CT: So, you studied music at UCT. In what year did you start?

JT: I started in 1974 and enrolled for the BMus (Performance) degree. Pappie wasn't happy that I should do the pure performance degree as he felt that it would be difficult for me to make a living, here in South Africa at least. As he was also the only breadwinner in our home, he had to rely on financial assistance in the form of a loan for Teacher Education from the Department of Coloured Affairs. This compelled me to combine extra courses enabling me to do the Higher Diploma in Education after completion of the Performance degree as to fulfil those requirements for the financial aid as well.

CT: Can you tell me more about your experience at UCT?

JT: I was the only one of my classmates to go to UCT and apart from Johann who was already a year ahead of me, I knew no one at the Music Faculty and was looking forward [to] making new friends. I was one of a few Coloured students admitted that year and I soon realised that there was a great amount of competition amongst students normally and that a person of colour had to stand out to be heard and taken note of. Although my personal demeanour was more laid back and some of us more eager to assimilate with the majority culture, I would more easily

befriend a few White students and tried to adjust to things new to me without showing any insecurities at the time. Remember according to the apartheid policies, we needed a special permit to study at UCT, which allowed us to do degrees and courses not being offered at the University of the Western Cape (UWC), which was specially created for Coloured tertiary education. Every year this permit had to be renewed and [despite becoming part of the institution over time], imagine the shock when on an occasion I was reminded by the Administrative Officer that my permit had lapsed. No matter what duties you had for the day, I would specially take a trip by bus to the Coloured Affairs Department (CAD) in Roeland Street, waiting for hours and listening to the indignant remarks of the White official in charge as to why we want to attend UCT instead of UWC for Coloureds. This burden of having to get special permission to study at any institution in your country of birth, put further psychological barriers and enhanced the feeling of not being accepted or affirmed, but rather being tolerated as a special case. Although there was no segregation in classes, one would sit with a familiar friend or be on your own, rather than mixing on campus and/or belong to the same extra-mural societies. Outside of campus one could not go anywhere without encountering the strictly enforced racial apartheid in transport, entertainment, leisure and residential areas. The customary “Hi” greeting was the usual civil thing across colour lines and interaction would occur if you shared the same practical teacher or when genuine friendships were formed. I made friends with a Rhodesian student, Leonard Loebenstein and a [married singing] student, Tessa Whitesman, who stayed nearby in Rondebosch. I could openly talk and relate my feelings about the political situation and constraints then, and as Leonard and I had the same piano teacher, invitations to Tessa’s home became more frequent during my final year.

The first time I felt affirmed at the College of Music was after appearing in my first performance class, after which the Dean, Prof. Michael Brimer would provide you with a personal critique on your performance. This was one of the rare friendships I experienced as an undergraduate and, though we lost touch over the years, I was very glad to meet up with him again at the memorial service held in honour of our beloved piano teacher after his passing five years ago on 11 January 2015. Our teacher first initiated play-overs at his home where we could also interact socially afterwards. This later led to formal dinners at restaurants and more socialising, though he made sure that there would not be hassles as far as the apartheid laws were concerned. As this was against the law at the time, I felt uneasy at times, being the only person of colour in the company or the possibility of being in contravention of it. I am attaching a photo of us at a restaurant with our teacher and at our graduation. It was in my third year that

a significantly higher number of Coloured students were admitted to the College of Music and we automatically struck a kind of camaraderie as the political situation became tenser within the country leading up to the 1976 student uprisings, which affected us too. [On] two photos of the students and staff taken in 1974 (my first year) and later 1978 (my final HDE-year) this difference in demographics can be seen.

I was a diligent student, but not always sure of my own abilities. I was surprised to receive very good to excellent results at the end of my first year. Not knowing that I could apply for financial assistance and bursaries based on these results, my cousin ([with whom] I lodged) encouraged me to do so, resulting in me receiving a substantial number of bursaries, which turned out to be more than enough for all of my studies. The circumstances at my lodgings did not provide me with a personal piano to practice on, but I could do so [at the house of a friend of my cousin] on weekends for a few hours. I did all my practising during the week in the practice block at the College of Music. Normal academic lecturing was rather challenging at times and unless you felt assertive enough to ask questions, you tried to cope as best as you could. As time went by, managing day-to-day work, practising, [and with] financial constraints at the beginning, social interaction with one another could be handled within the constraints [of what was] viewed to be normal in society at the time. I participated in internal piano competitions held at the College and it was when I won the Sonata prize (when I played Schumann's Sonata in F minor also nicknamed "Concerto Without Orchestra") and my name appeared on the notice boards, that I was recognised more often in the corridors. We also participated in the Peninsula Eisteddfod which catered for the Coloured students and we performed at the St. Augustine's school in Wynberg. I regularly received a bursary and once played on radio with their special anniversary. Sadly though, this cultural institution was usurped into the Cape Town Eisteddfod, which catered for White students in the new dispensation.

CT: I know that if you were Coloured you couldn't stay on campus, so where did you stay and how did you commute?

JT: We were not allowed by law to stay in university residences at all. My initial wish to stay at the Catholic student residence of my music friend Johann could not materialise because my father, who was the only breadwinner in our home, could not afford it. Hence, he arranged for me to lodge with an aunt of mine from his side. They stayed in Walmer Estate near the then Zonnebloem Teacher's College. My daily routine was to walk downhill to the Main Road where I would catch a bus to either Mowbray and walk to Campus or get off in Rondebosch just opposite the College of Music. The University very much later started a bus service for

students in my HDE-year, leaving Adderley Street early morning for the Main Campus which made it [much] easier then.

CT: Who taught you at UCT?

JT: After my initial piano audition with Prof. Brimer, he asked me whether I had any preference for a teacher. I told him that I do not know the teachers but heard of Lamar Crowson and seeing I had two nuns previously, my only request would be not to be placed with a female or a nun, as I heard there was one employed as a part-time teacher. When formal tuition started, I saw my name allocated to Neil Solomon on the notice board. [It turned out that he had] a lasting influence on me as a musician, teacher and mentor in so many ways.

CT: From a short biography that I read, I know that you received the Oude Meester Prize, the Five Roses Award for Young Artists and the Dudley D'wes Scholarship. Were these all UCT awards?

JT: No, none of them was awarded by UCT. I won the Oude Meester Prize as part of the Jubileum Competition of the University of Stellenbosch where I entered as one of UCT's students. It was [a competition for university music students and was open to the public.] It took place in the Endler Hall. This was also my first appearance there as only White students could attend Stellenbosch University. I remember the warm welcome and honest pride of the late Prof. Behrens, the Head of the Conservatoire then, after I was announced the winner. He used to be my external examiner for many a practical examination at UCT. The Five Roses Award for Young Artists resulted in me performing at the Grahamstown Festival now called The National Arts Festival in Makhanda whilst the Cape Tercentenary Club awarded me the Dudley D'Ewes Scholarship, an award which I applied for. Attached is a photo taken at the prize giving ceremony at Stellenbosch University.

CT: At that point I'm sure UCT had concerto festivals, for example. Were you allowed to audition for that kind of competition?

JT: We only had a student orchestra during my post-graduate studies, formed by Allan Stephenson, a cello teacher who also was a member of the Cape Town Symphony Orchestra (CTSO) at the time. I played Beethoven's Fourth Piano Concerto with them in the newly erected Baxter Concert Hall. By then I had already made my debut with the CTSO a few years back. This came about after a joint piano recital by me and Leonard Loebenstein in the Chisholm Recital Room at the College of Music, to which the Artistic Director, Anthony Kuhnert, was invited. As the apartheid laws made it difficult for me to play with a White

Orchestra, my teacher thought that some pressure on them, with an open recital together with a possible critique or concert review in the newspapers, would give impetus for this to take place despite the racial barriers at the time. This seemingly worked as both Leonard and I were offered a Sunday night debut performance the following year. Mine took place on 2 April 1978 with the Grieg a minor concerto under Werner Andreas Albert, a German guest conductor. This was a huge breakthrough after the 1976 State of Emergency, the clampdown in the country and overcoming the apartheid barriers. The tremendous support from the larger society, the full house with lots of ordinary community members [in attendance], especially from the area where I lodged in Walmer Estate. I remember the excitement, awe and sense of achievement I felt at the time as it was the beginning of many “firsts” in my life.

CT: Sorry, I need to go back. Who taught you piano in high school?

JT: I continued with the same teacher at High School, Sister Josephine and only changed in Standard 8 (Grade 10) to Sister Cecily till my final school year when I could also do Music as one of my six subjects at school.

CT: Okay. So, from 1980 you were busy with your masters, which you completed it in 1982. In 1984 you were a semi-finalist at the UNISA international piano competition. How was this experience?

JT: In 1982 I won the SABC National Music Competition and it was only the second time that it was open to all South Africans. The previous one in 1980 was won by Anton Nel, where I reached the semi-final round of the piano section held at the Rand Afrikaans University (RAU), the present UJ. I still remember being the only competitor of colour and my teacher being at pains when I reminded him that I might not be allowed access to the cafeteria as the custom was. The 1982 competition took place at the SABC Studios in Sea Point, Cape Town, with the final round with orchestra at the City Hall. The untimely sudden death of Pappie just a week before the start of the first round will always be part of this big occasion in my life. The following year led to numerous solo and orchestral performances with ensembles and venues unfamiliar to me or where my community was never allowed before. I am not sure whether this was because of outside pressure of sanctions which ultimately followed, relaxations of the prohibitions on moral grounds or lobbying from the music fraternity in power at the time. This could also be part of the justification [for] the lack of a formal apology from the music establishment as part of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in the early days of the new dispensation. The musicians in the White establishment always felt that they were the

first to relax these laws or were never for it. Although the reality was that a silent consent or excuse was convenient when it suited hidden agendas from bureaucrats, music administrators, musicians, and various power plays. Which one can still feel continues to this day, albeit under subtle and new forms carefully crafted not be blatantly foul within our new human rights dispensation.

My first appearance at the Second International Unisa Competition, then known as the 1984 Pretoria International Competition (complete with colours and the South African flag in display). I was the only South African competitor to reach the semi-final round and was awarded numerous prizes, of which the Norman Nossel Overseas Scholarship for two years and the Oude Meester prize to compete in an overseas international competition were the major ones. With the first year's Overseas Scholarship, savings from short teaching periods and financial support from family and friends, I embarked on private piano studies with the celebrated Greek-Cypriot pianist, Martino Tirimo in London. He was a friend of my teacher who was associated with the Morley College and my lessons would focus to prepare me to participate in the Uruguay International Competition as part of the Oude Meester Prize. Life at the beginning was very difficult and apart from the depressing weather, obtaining suitable affordable accommodation was quite challenging. The first two months saw me having to use back packers, contacting the ANC office to get me in touch with Donald Woods (banned editor of the Daily Dispatch from East London, who fled the country), who arranged with Chris De Broglio [for me to stay] at one of his hotels until [I could procure] permanent lodgings. It was at this hotel that I shook hands with many ANC comrades in exile, including Thabo Mbeki, who held meetings there in secret. My need in seeking long term affordable accommodation was eventually resolved when, through the networking of a Morley College music student, I was recommended to the Thorpe family in Cranley Gardens, Muswell Hill in North London. The Manager of the Dietmann Piano Factory in Wellington later also kindly arranged for a grand piano for me to practice on, which was such a huge relief. Although the family had an antique upright which I used at the beginning. Weekly lessons in Wimbledon, attending master classes at Morley College, attending occasional concerts, working within a strict budget and getting food every day, as I had to support myself, and daily practising of course became my regular routine. I could also have a recital in preparation for the Uruguay International Competition at the family's church hall before having to return to South Africa for the visa requirements. I would never have thought that after the disastrous "Rubicon" speech by the then State President, PW Botha, the threats to press freedom in the country and the building up

to the declaration of a State of Emergency would put me at the receiving end of the political order of the day. The visa was summarily refused, and the resulting plummeting of our currency made it completely impossible to make ends meet financially overseas and without a vast amount of financial goodwill and support from donors, which subsided in the aftermath of the building up of political tension in our country, my options were very limited. The second payment from the overseas scholarship was never paid out because I could not give a firm undertaking as to when I was going back. Last minute changes to repertoire learnt and trying to prepare new pieces in a matter of [a] few weeks to enable me [to enter] the 1986 Pretoria International Competition, also turned out not to have been a wise decision at all. The sheer pressure of preparation due to the changes in programme, the political environment in the country and my total feeling of not being able to truly associate myself [with] genuinely representing my country with honour due to the prevalent discrimination and clamping down on basic human rights, respecting the national anthem (me and the only other Coloured competitor, Wayne Siebritz still decided to rather remain standing and be quiet during the singing of it), [the national] flag and the bad memories associated with even the subtle [...] messages visibly displayed at the venue, made me feel like a foreigner in my own land. Despite winning a prize, my overall experience was not very good and the subsequent uphill battle of gaining more financial support, going back overseas looked rather grim. To come to terms with it all, I decided to return home and plan my way forward. The political situation became very volatile, affecting higher institutions of learning and within a few weeks of me being at home, the White music lecturer at the College of Education [Oudtshoorn] resigned unexpectedly. The Rector of the institution approached me to fill the vacancy and [...] my intention was only to help out and being able to save money to go back [overseas]. [However], things became more daunting with overseas sanctions and the cultural boycott coming into effect. During this time, I was only offered replacement “fillers” for overseas artists who cancelled their concerts here. New endeavours with the music students and other music projects I started at the College demanded new commitment and despite regular solo performances at educational institutions, time was running out to participate in any overseas international competitions within the age limits. [This situation was further compounded by] visa constraints imposed on SA Passport holders. The political negotiations then started in earnest from 1990 onwards whilst the music establishment prepared themselves quietly for survival of their own interest groups outside government structures within the new dispensation. As there were [no] opportunities available for a music teaching position at the Coloureds-only university [of the Western Cape] then, I took on a promotion position the previous year as music adviser within the Education

Department of the House of Representatives, a separate political structure set up in 1984 as part of the Tricameral Parliament of the government for Coloured people. Apart from having to fill in for certain overseas pianists who cancelled their performances during the interim time up to 1994, I was approached by Unisa from 1996 onwards as an adjudicator for their national Piano Competitions, becoming a member of their examining panel and serving a few tenures on the Music Examinations advisory Board. I resigned from active Unisa examinations at the beginning of this year as travelling became rather strenuous.

CT: During 1976 there was a march in Cape Town. Were you apart of the march? How was this experience?

JT: I remember the day clearly when I was asked by one of the high school learners whilst waiting at the bus stop which school I was representing as I was wearing my UCT sweater top. I knew about the planned protest march, but as we were under the impression that the organisers only invited high school learners and not knowing what was happening on the Main Campus, we would show solidarity by wearing black arm bands whilst congregating in [...] Main Road near the College of Music. During the build-up to the protracted strikes, Pappie requested me to come home. This turned out to be an anxious time as the Security Branch paid him a visit at his school enquiring about my whereabouts, thinking I came to Oudtshoorn to instigate similar protests. We came under severe pressure too from the authorities, I was personally called in by the administrative officer to not visibly wear the black armband as there were complaints that we were intimidating others when coming in late as a group to music lectures wearing this demonstratively.

CT: You mentioned that the Department of Coloured Affairs (CAD) asked who the instigators were but, and sorry if this is a naïve question, but would the people working at the Department of Coloured Affairs not have been Coloured?

JT: Whenever you had to renew your permit, the White official would always insinuate that we must be careful not instigating political issues whilst doing studies there. The CAD was basically run by White officials enforcing the apartheid laws and vision of the government. It was only much later that Coloureds were gradually allowed to run their so-called own affairs when the Tricameral Parliament was created under the name of House of Representatives in 1984.

CT: And you never considered going to UWC?

JT: As I mentioned earlier, no positions were available there when I was promoted to the music advisory service. By the time a junior lectureship became available after 1992, I was already fully established within my new position, married in 1990 and it would have been a loss financially as the salary scale of a junior lectureship was far less than what I earned at the time. Having had to relocate and finding my wife a position in Cape Town would have also added another burden in a very fluid time. Posts only opened for all, at all universities within the new dispensation and my personal circumstances drastically changed with the addition of family responsibilities. Do also bear in [...] mind the political stigma associated with UWC in the apartheid days. Some of my friends took those opportunities only after the phasing out of Education Colleges, where most of us could be initially employed in the apartheid days. We had designated Universities for each racial group within so called “homelands”, e.g., University of Boputhatswana for Tswana speakers, University of Zululand for the Zulu speaking people. Xhosa speakers had to go to Transkei University or Fort Hare University, Indians to Durban-Westville University etc. Many of these universities changed names and were amalgamated with other established ones after 1994.

CT: Did you ever have the opportunity whilst at UCT to watch piano recitals or pianists playing with the CTSO during apartheid?

JT: We could go to concerts on campus and later the Baxter Theatre and the City Hall. The latter had special seating arrangement where the last two rows were reserved for people not being White. Halls in White areas were not open to all and a ban applied to the newly built Nico Malan Theatre, now Artscape, where operas and ballet events were held. We found it very humiliating to seek permission to attend these concerts, as separate performance for us in our inadequate facilities were only allowed for [...] government sponsored concerts and events. This was generally adhered to as it was against the law. I remember feeling so affirmed after winning the Sonata Prize in one of our UCT internal competitions, an elderly lady, Mrs. Gertrude Hunt anonymously gave me a yearly ticket to attend Thursday night concerts at the City Hall. At the beginning I was a bit reluctant to go as I was guaranteed a regular seat amongst other elderly ladies. At the beginning they were very quiet and later became curious and inquisitive and trying to make me feel at home amongst them. I learnt a lot and could hear world-known artists and it was only later revealed to me by the Coloured workers at the reception who this kind donor was as she left this yearly ticket for me at the reception each year since I won that prize in my third year, I think. This was but experiences whilst I was at UCT. In Oudtshoorn there was nothing to go to and when the Provincial Board would send out

artists it would be at separate venues. Once, we could gain access [and] sit in the projector room where cinema films were operated from and peeped through the holes, so the White audience should not be aware of our presence. It was funny at the time, but also very hurtful, hence I cannot understand how most of my White peers today say that they were never aware of these discriminatory practices or that the music establishment never collectively took responsibility for having allowed all this to happen in their name during the apartheid era, despite them relaxing those practices when international pressure started to gain momentum against the government. There are many incidents which happened during my whole life which I can tell where my human dignity was degraded just because of the colour of my skin, but so it was with all of us at the time.

CT: It's really sad to hear about this. I can't imagine not being able to do all the things I can do now.

JT: [Those were] indeed times I wish I could forget, but the psychological damage [and the] lasting physical legacy like group areas will take completely new generations to overcome. New challenges were also created within the new dispensation, whilst the protection of vast interests within the old order of the music establishment could survive and continue without the overt exclusiveness being perpetuated, but with a mindset not being able to distinguish and enhance great and genuine musical talent, especially amongst communities which were never affirmed by the apartheid government. There is also this tendency to perpetuate the inequalities and psychological deprivation of the past with the launching of "special or outreach" programmes devised for people not yet ready. This goes back to an invariable notion stemming from the past ingrained consciousness of those who settled here that they were doing good in bringing civilization, literacy, and spirituality to our ancestors when they stayed here. I already mentioned my only Unisa exam I completed, being the Gr. 7, which was conducted by John Roos. I received a special award for gaining one of the highest marks then. When I was appointed to the panel of Unisa Examiners in 1997, he told me he remembered my exam and the impression I made then. He was also aware of the special arrangements being made as I was not allowed to play together at the same time with the other White candidates on the same piano. On hearing this, the then Professional Director remarked that it was not the policy of the Music Directorate, but the invigilator must have been responsible for such action, despite the general known policy to everyone by Unisa for academic exams to be segregated and conducted separately between Whites and others.

CT: I want to go back a bit. Did your lessons at the convent prepare you for university well enough?

JT: I think it prepared me first to gain entrance, achieving the highest standard that Trinity College exams could give me i.e., the Grade 8 and even the practical part of the ATCL diploma in my matric year. The nuns, although not being regularly exposed to the changing piano pedagogy and sometimes being fixed in their ways, approach and outlook, gave me the best of their abilities at the time. Never did I feel that I was treated differently because of my race and they were very proud of my later achievements, ever encouraging me and keeping in touch until their retirement to Aliwal North in the frail care centre. I visited their graves on a Unisa Music Examinations tour there in September 2000. I also completed the grade 7 Unisa Exam with Sister Cecily as she thought that there might have been a possibility that Trinity exams would not be acceptable for South African University entrance. Sister Cecily also kept her promise by inviting me to visit her family and giving concerts in her hometown of St. Gallen in Switzerland when I was a second-year student at UCT. Apart from showing her country folk the results of her missionary input here, part of the trip was to raise funds to acquire a Grand Piano for the music exams. I gave recitals in various towns and villages there and with the money I was given could buy me a new Yamaha upright piano. The second-hand Yamaha Grand Piano was bought at Schindhelm Piano House in Bellville and I was given the opportunity to play at the inaugural concert held in the new St. Joseph's Hall. This Grand is today in my home as I was given first opportunity to buy it when the Holy Cross Convent was eventually closed.

CT: You said that in 1985 your visa was refused, so you started to work. Where did you work?

JT: My visa to go to Uruguay for the International Competition was refused in January 1986, my participation there would have been on route back to London again. This refusal resulted in me having to learn a completely new programme within weeks for the next Pretoria International as it was known then. Remember, there was no overlap in the content required for the two competitions and this was done in the hope of getting more financial aid. The opportunity at the Southern Cape College of Education in Oudtshoorn came shortly after the Pretoria International where, despite being awarded one of the South African awards, the whole event did not result in any good experience in the main.

CT: For how long?

JT: I resumed my association with the Southern Cape College, where I initially had a post for one year in 1979, in 1986 till 1988, and the following year, I accepted a promotion post as Music Adviser. Other short teaching experiences were in instrumental positions at primary schools, some time at the then Bellville College of Education and private piano teaching too.

CT: And after the limbo period and 1994 you never wanted to go back overseas and study further?

JT: As I alluded to earlier, time was running out for me to participate in international competitions due to my age. I was given my first opportunity to play with [an] orchestra when I was turning 22 years and went to London turning 29. I got married at the age of 34 in 1990 and after 1994 my priorities shifted somewhat from pursuing an active performing career as opportunities [then] became fewer due to the change in government and the dismantling of the cultural organisations which existed under apartheid. I kept myself busy with performances at educational institutions within my working environment, promoting the new envisaged music curriculum in the schools and various choral projects within my church and the broader society.

CT: Your first performance with the CTSO in 1978 was not part of a youth concerto festival?

JT: No, my first performance with orchestra was a normal Sunday Night Concert those years on 2 April 1978. Only thereafter, during the same year, the then CAPAB, The Performing Arts Board for the Cape Province, comprising then the current Provinces of the Western, Eastern and Northern Cape gave me the opportunity to be part of their annual Youth Concerto Festival under David Tidboald, the resident conductor. Performances then followed my debut, seen as a breakthrough within the limitations placed on us, both as soloist and with orchestra. All the major orchestras and venues then followed with invitations, e.g. Johannesburg City Hall and State Theatre (National SABC & Johannesburg Symphony Orchestras), Durban City Hall (Natal Philharmonic Orchestra) and Bloemfontein (PACOFS orchestra). There are numerous anecdotes I can relate on my experiences being basically the “first” of another race group to play for a majority White audience, the perceptions especially within the Afrikaans community at the time, interactions with those in charge and the feeling many a time of being treated as an “outsider”. There was, however, goodwill and non-patronising interaction with an exceptional number of people during those years, but the entrenched group areas made attendances to these concert venues from my own community challenging too.

CT: Have you ever heard of a pianist called Jan Volkwyn?

JT: Both names have a familiarity, but should read Jan Fredericks and James Volkwyn, both are from Johannesburg, but born in different eras. James Volkwyn studied with Adolph Hallis and was given the opportunity to perform with the Johannesburg Symphony orchestra (JSO), I think. I met him as an Inspector of Music in the then CAD and he became my supervisor when I became a music adviser. He died several years ago, but his wife resides still in Cape Town. Jan Fredericks, I met in Oudtshoorn when I was still in matric and he was part of a music touring group of UCT Coloured students who included his brother Schalk (Violin), Virginia Damons, now Davids (Voice), Keith Jenneker and Jan (Piano), my earlier school friend, who was now a first-year student, Johann Buis (Oboe, Recorder). I also contributed a few solo items and did accompaniment for Johann. Jan also performed with the JSO. Jan Fredericks, like Johann Buis, remained in the USA after commencing their studies there. Schalk Fredericks also became a music adviser in the CAD after being a lecturer at the Rand College of Education in Johannesburg. Keith Jenneker became lecturer at the Bellville College of Education and was later one of the first to be appointed at Stellenbosch University when they were opened to all in the new dispensation. Virginia Damons- Davids is currently still Professor in Voice at UCT. These concerts were also continued when I became a student and we (Coloured students) regularly gave a fundraiser for the Charity NICRO (National Institute for Crime Prevention and Reintegration of Offenders) organised by the Chairman, who was the Deputy Principal of the Schotsche Kloof Primary School at Zonnebloem College of Education nearby where I was lodging.

CT: Where was James inspector of music?

JT: James Volkwyn served as one of the first Inspectors of Music appointed in the CAD together with others known to me, namely Frank Pietersen from Paarl and Milton Oerson from Port Elizabeth. They were the known Coloured musicians in school circles when I grew up. I was privileged to meet and interact with all three whilst at school as well as being examined during my matric year for Music as a subject and later working with Frank Pietersen for a month as my supervisor when I was appointed as music adviser in 1989, when he suddenly died. James became my supervisor after the death of Frank Pietersen and moved from Johannesburg to Cape Town until he died in service too.

CT: Are there any people who helped and supported you tremendously that you would like to mention?

JT: There were various phases in my life and apart from my family who supported me my whole life until their deaths (I was the youngest and am the only one left since 2006 when my mother died, my father passed away a week before the SABC Music Competition started in 1982, my eldest brother 6 months after that in 1983 and my middle brother died on youth day 2004). My middle brother Clive was my biggest supporter and arranged numerous concerts and social functions for me whilst my high school principal, Harold Muller encouraged me to become a pianist and attended all major events in my life. Neil Solomon became my professional mentor and friend and we interacted regularly until his death on 11 January 2015. The Rector of the Southern Cape College of Education, who offered me the lecturing position in 1986, Lionel Tait, also became a lifelong friend till his untimely death this week on 26 May 2020. He gave advice during my career choices in turbulent times and when there was not much support from the music establishment. Through his mentorship I can look forward to retirement from Education at the end of June 2021 whilst being able to have a stable income for the rest of my life. Although the path has been lonely at times within my professional career, well-placed people came into my life just at the right time and I do not ever regret the experiences I encountered, whether high or low, [they] made me the kind of person I never thought I would become one day.

4.2 Interview with Michele Williams

CT: When and where were you born?

MW: I was born in Port Elizabeth in 1954.

CT: So, tell me about the beginning of your musical journey; how did you come to play the violin? I read on your CPO biography that you started violin at the age of 6.

MW: Yes, I was six years old; my four older sisters were already playing a musical instrument. Mr. Herman Becker taught me, and he had a music school, but he gave [me] lessons privately.

CT: So, he taught people of all races?

MW: No, I was his first Coloured pupil. I had to have lessons at his home as I was not allowed to enter the institution where he lectured to have a lesson.

CT: Okay, for how long?

MW: He taught me until I was 12 years old when he relocated to Durban.

CT: Did you have to apply for this permit each year.

MW: No, they did not grant the permit, so I had to take lessons at his home.

CT: Did you know at this point that music was something you wanted to do for the rest of your life?

MW: Well, yes, at the age of 12, it was a consideration.

CT: So, you did exams like Trinity and UNISA at this stage?

MW: I did Royal Schools and Trinity exams for most grades until Grade 8.

CT: Okay. For this research, I have decided to call the performing musicians Coloured performing musicians. Although derogative, it is the most recognised term. However, if you wish to be identified differently racially, please tell me?

MW: Well, I am Coloured, Caron, always was and proud of it. Years ago, you can put this later, but when I started playing in the orchestra (1978), the orchestra realised that they had to include people of other race groups into their organization; I auditioned for an extra player. They had to seek people of colour before the various sanctions looming. At that stage, we were all classified as Black players, nothing wrong with that, and until recently, we were still classified as Black—no Coloureds. If you go through annual reports, you will see that we were

still reported as Black. They had to project people of colour regardless of how you played, or whatever, they had to get them in, but referred to as Black. So yes, the Coloured person was never really recognised.

CT: Did they maybe record Coloureds as Black because of BEE?

MW: No, BEE came much later. This was in the 90s etc. Now yes, maybe that is why. The Cape Town Symphony Orchestra was mentioned in *Time* magazine in the financial section. That was the CTSO in the 80s/ 90s. South Africa was much different because of its apartheid policy. Musicians that were in SA are the ones that were told you are only being included because of your skin colour [sic]. Here, because of the differences in attitude, some aspiring performing musicians would say you are taking their place because of their hard work. I can name a handful of people that told me that.

CT: After Herman Becker went to Durban when you were 12, who did you take lessons with?

MW: I took lessons with Neil McKay, a violin lecturer at the then UPE.

CT: How long was he your teacher?

MW: Four years. Unfortunately, he died after playing a concert in 1971.

CT: And how would you say he helped or prepared you for what was to come?

MW: Well, as a teacher, he was very inspiring. I also got to play with the Municipal Orchestra in Port Elizabeth at the age of 13, and he broadened my scope of repertoire and violin and music teachings. Mr. Robert Selly was the Director of Music in PE. He was a teacher at Grey High School and the conductor of the Municipal Orchestra; he was very supportive and encouraging on my musical journey. He organised a concert once a month in the Feather Market Hall, and I was proud to be a part of that orchestra. As a little Coloured girl, I had to be very politically careful. I needed a permit to enter any building or hall in any “European” suburb. Needless to say, those were interesting times, 1960 through 1970.

CT: So, you got a permit approved at this time?

MW: Yes, I will not go into that detail, but every week, my dad and Mr. Selly had to apply for a permit for me to attend those rehearsals and one to attend concerts... for four guests I could invite to attend and for me. They had to be identified by name.

CT: Sorry, every week?

MW: Yes, every week and month.

CT: So, you took lessons with Neil McKay till you were 16?

MW: Yes, until I was 16, I did my grade 8 that year, my practical exam, and theory (Royal Schools, ABRSM). In 1972, I had lessons with Prof. Jack de Wet. I could not have lessons at the university. So, I had lessons at his house.

Me: At this point, did you have any performances, i.e., solo performances, that you would like to mention?

MW: No, I did not, those times were much different to now, but we had concerts. It was not like it is today, you were taking lessons, and you played in church. There were no solo performances at that point because you had to get a permit for everything. So, you could not go and perform anywhere except in your area. If I wanted to listen to a concert, I had to get a permit to go to the City Hall. Once a month, they had concerts in the City Hall and, we had to get a permit, my dad would take me every month, but we would sit at the back of the hall, in the last two rows, under a permit. We had eisteddfods throughout primary and high school, which was a platform for competition and performance.

CT: Okay, and who taught you?

MW: Mr. Noel Travers was there when I got there, then I went to Peter Carter. Then I went to Heinz Czech. That is all.

CT: So, in 1976 was the Soweto uprising; there was a march in Cape Town. Did you participate in any way?

MW: Yes, I think everyone did. I went as an observer. At that stage, I had a friend who was studying at UWC and joined in there. I was not a crowd person; I did things on my own. It was a bit overwhelming at that stage, the many things I had to contend with in the performing world. (Orchestral) What was it worth? I often wonder. Many rebuffs when you are young, sometimes not knowing how to react to it, because of consequences to be considered, but it was your peers, from all races, well-meaning or not so well-meaning, telling you, you [are] only here because of your colour. For me, that was the hardest to handle at times. I was a part of the group of Coloured students at SACM that wore black armbands.

CT: Can you tell me more about your experience at UCT and what it was like being a student there at this time?

MW: As a student, you had to watch your p's and q's because, it was apartheid. There is such a lot that I am not going to mention. I kept myself out of the political side of things. I wanted

to play the music, but that did not help me either. It was fine. You had to do your work, which I did not want to do because I wanted to play. If you could not play, then what did you do? Luckily, I got work in the orchestra. From 1976, I played as an extra, which was good; in 1980, I applied for a full-time position.

CT: Could you tell me how your teachers at UCT influenced your playing and growth?

MW: Yes, Peter Carter and Noel Travers were very supportive, and they went the extra mile to help me. Noel Travers really helped me learn the standard repertoire, become part of the music world, etc. they were great teachers. I was not a strong academic, but I enjoyed playing and the teaching I got from the teachers there.

CT: And where did you stay when you studied at UCT? Because I know that students of colour could not stay in any residence on campus.

MW: No, no, residences were taboo... You could not even visit your fellow students who lived there. So, I boarded with family [and] I was fortunate to have a little Volkswagen Beetle for transport, courtesy of my sister.

CT: Were you exposed to orchestral and string ensemble playing at UCT? Could you tell me more about this?

MW: Oh yes, the orchestral playing I was exposed to from the beginning. Some not very good experiences, first rehearsal, "I have been working and playing for so many years, and now you come in for the first time and get that position." Shock, what do you do? Go to the conductor and say, you don't want to be there. Yes, I did that. How do you feel about that? Ironically that person and I became friends and acquaintances until today.

CT: Sorry, was this in your first year?

MW: Yes, my first year.

CT: So, you auditioned, and you got the leader spot?

MW: No, there was no audition; look; it's at College, so the conductor knows how everyone plays, and you are told where to sit. He put me on that spot. I did not know about being a leader, I could play the music, but then people felt threatened as they do today; they still feel threatened because you are taking a spot. Then I went and said that I don't want to be in that spot anymore. So, I filled the spot as leader of the seconds. If you come there from a very protected background ... My father protected us because of the political situation, we had to be careful. [He] always used to protect us in this musical arena. Nevertheless, I grew from there; I enjoyed

the orchestral playing. It did not always sit nicely with me; I made some good friends, but that is what happened.

CT: Did you ever get placed as leader again in the years to come?

MW: Yes.

CT: You said you made good friends, but I am not sure if you are saying you made good friends with White students at College, but once you got outside, you could not be with one another?

MW: Yes, you are quite correct; I made friends from different race groups... good friends, and not so good ones in my mind. I was a little bit of a guinea pig.

CT: Okay, so in 1976, you auditioned for the orchestra, and you got to play as an ad hoc player. Could you tell me more about this time?

MW: Very, very, very overwhelming at that stage. I remember going to the then Dean of the faculty, Professor Michael Brimer, and saying I am overwhelmed by this because every newspaper was hounding me to write an article because of my inclusion as an extra player in the CTSO. Being insistent about being proud of this 'accomplishment,' I sought advice about how to react from the Dean. After his assurance that the news must have leaked somehow, I felt relieved. Yes, there were reports in all the national papers about this.

CT: How did they react to this?

MW: Well, Caron, it is a difficult question. I cannot talk for other people; they say it's a good fuss or a bad fuss; everything has pros and cons. I am talking about peer pressure. Here you are all excited, a little apprehensive, at College. One faction, White or Black, support you outright, genuinely... one faction, White or Black support you because it's the right thing to do although you are a bit in the way, ... one faction, White or Black, say you are a stooge, a sell-out, just being used for the opportunity. I don't think anyone can imagine how that feels. Enough said. After much discussion with my parents, uncle Dan Ulster, and others, I decided to pursue the path that I did until I retired last year.

At that stage, they had to open because of the political climate in the country...1970's Soweto uprising brought about many changes. One [thing] that was phased out significantly was not having to apply to the Department of Coloured Affairs for a permit to attend the SACM. Yes, it was a good experience for me, and I am glad I took it; I was the first one, but there are so many firsts that went with that first. At one point, I no longer wanted to be at UCT, and I approached the department head at UWC, Bruce Gardner. However, unfortunately, the

department was too small to accommodate a violin lecturer. Furthermore, I approached the Head of Stellenbosch University's music department, who told me to go to UWC.

CT: So, you were the first person of colour to get an appointment as an ad hoc player?

MW: Yes.

CT: And then, in 1980, the first person of colour to get a full-time job in the orchestra?

MW: Correct.

CT: Okay, so there were no other people of colour playing ever besides you?

MW: Not before me.

CT: How was this experience? I mean, did they have to introduce separate treatment because you were coming in, or did everything remain together?

MW: The official things got in the way; I was paid less; I could not get medical aid or pension. I was on the municipality scheme. I did not feel any separation. I was never interested in being political at that stage.

CT: In 1980, you got a post as a full-time player. So, how was this transition into the orchestra, and obviously with what was happening in the country, how was this for you?

MW: So, 1980 I came there, very young and look, we had very good players because they all came from overseas, it was an overseas orchestra, very nice some of them, one Italian man shouted and swore at me saying I don't know anything.

Nothing different from when I started in this orchestra in 2001; we started an education committee still there today. The person on that committee said, 'I do not want to sit on a committee with people that have nothing to say, I am resigning' this was said by one of the two White people on that committee. It was something because, that was the perception in 1980, in 2001 and, it is still happening today. Because of the nature of musicians worldwide, it is an endangered species, as you could call it, in South Africa. However, overseas it is much more open, but the performance people in South Africa and today's youngsters have more guts to say what they want to say because they thought you could make a political thing about it. Today they look at you, the young ones, and they are very self-assured, granted you have to work hard for it, and orchestras all over the world are becoming an endangered species. When, you see, for instance, non-Whites that have to put in the work, otherwise they won't get funding. They won't get this, and they won't get that, at the university level—so whether all the students are

on a reasonable level, it does not matter, we will make them get to [that level]. I was paid less; I could not get medical aid or a pension. I was on the municipality scheme.

CT: You worked with the CTSO from 1980 till?

MW: Yes, I played there; I remember them having Leon and Johann Buis as an oboist sometimes. That was all that came in as extra players –no one else of colour. Today the famous word is, they want to throw the race card. You cannot do anything wrong; whether you are depressed or unable, you cannot object to anything; if you do, they say you want to throw the race card. Meanwhile, they want to preserve the race card so that they can get the money.

CT: How was the transition to playing in the orchestra after the end of apartheid?

MW: It was not different because they had started when they realised when they had [international sanctions] against them, you know. They could not get conductors anymore; they tried to get people in to say that we are trying to get people in, and under permit, yes. So, everything started opening up, but little by little.

CT: In 1978 John Theodore played with the CTSO, the first person of colour to do so. Were you playing in the orchestra?

MW: Yes, that was an incredible breakthrough moment; he was absolutely fantastic. He played Grieg. It was well-received; he made a great impression on everybody. I remember that very clearly. He was good, so they could not really say anything.

CT: How long did the orchestra continue as the CTSO after the end of apartheid, before closing and reopening as the CPO in 2001?

MW: Yes, [...] we amalgamated with CAPAB in 1997. Then we became the Cape Town Philharmonic Orchestra (CTPO).

CT: So, the CTPO started in 1997?

MW: Yes, I think so.

CT: And then you auditioned, or did everyone have to reaudition?

MW: Yes, we all had to audition to get our posts again, and then we went on till about 2000. In the middle of 2000, it disbanded.

CT: So, at this point, were you principal second violin?

MW: No, I was playing in the first violin section.

CT: From 1994 – 2000, you were in the first violin section?

MW: Yes, I was in the first violin section with the CTSO and CTPO. When I started in 1980, I was in the second violin section, but then I went over, and I can't remember exactly when. I think it was 2003/ 2004 that I did an audition for the position of principal second violin.

CT: How was this experience in the 2000/2001 orchestra?

MW: It was nerve-wracking because we did not know if there was going to be an orchestra. After all, the other one went into liquidation, which was a bigger orchestra and, we knew this one was going to be a smaller orchestra, so you never knew who was going to get in. So, for what it was worth, I did my audition. So, it was a bit more hair-raising this time because I was also a mother and I had to provide for the children; it was a little bit stressful at that time.

CT: At that point, did you work anywhere else, or were you just working in the orchestra?

MW: I was teaching privately. You could not work anywhere else if you were in the orchestra, really. So, I always taught privately for years. I taught at Beau Soleil for a while from about 2004–2008. In addition, I taught at the University of the Western Cape in the 90s, and I remained there for a few years.

CT: So, you got the position as principal second violin in 2003/4?

MW: Yes, roundabout there, I was approached to apply for the position. I would not have applied for [it] otherwise. I realised it was important for the orchestra to have a person of colour, a female and senior, for the appointment. I first got the position of Associate Principal/ Deputy second violin in 2003. Then two years after that, I got the principal position, after a big political flurry as well, but we won't go into that now.

CT: I think we can, because I wanted to ask how that was taken? Did the orchestra retain most of the old members or not?

MW: No, it was half/ half, half CAPAB and CTSO, and there were younger ones as well. I was in the deputy second violin position for a while. I did the audition and was told that I did not get it. The other person who was fresh out of College got the position; good for him, and he played well. There was a formal investigation into the appointment; the outcome was that we shared the position as leader after I consulted an advocate.

CT: So, you got the position in 2005, and then it was a big political thing?

MW: Yes, it was 2005, I think. Yes, one half wanted me to do it because they saw a political appeal to it; meanwhile, I did not bother or worry. Nevertheless, on the other hand, I thought, why not? How do you play in a place when you know they did not appoint you in the first place? Which I accepted. The other half wanted me to be appointed for political reasons, so now you are in a crap position. How do you cope with that? You get it around you from all sides till the day you retire that you were only put there because of your colour.

CT: You always felt like you were put in this place, but you were not accepted in this role?

MW: No, I was never accepted in it. The other thing I must tell you, the National Youth Orchestra in the 70s, the National Youth Orchestra, was only White. [...] I applied and phoned and asked four years before I [was allowed to] go. I was never accepted. In my second year of university, I got an invitation to come. I was one of two [Coloured musicians together with] Schalk Fredericks (a violinist at UCT), a Doctor of Music in Johannesburg, two Indians, and two Black violinists from the Soweto project. They asked us to come, and they invited us to 1978/77. Then in 1978, we went to Johannesburg for the first time to the SABC, and four girls came to me and said, you are only here because of your skin colour. We have worked every year to get there; now they put you in front, ahead of us. That was in 1978; we went overseas that year to Israel, France, and Switzerland. Since then, it's been opened. The other day, I mentioned to somebody that I was never allowed to go to Nationals because it was only for Whites, and she looked at me and said that it has never been true. Can you believe it?

CT: Wow, how ignorant. Were you the only person of colour to go overseas with them?

MW: I can't remember.

CT: How did they deal with this? Did they have to separate things, like sharing rooms, for instance?

MW: No, it was not separate. It was when we went to Johannesburg you know I had to stay with a family; I stayed with the organisers of the orchestra, they really tried to accommodate us and give us the experience, it was very good.

CT: So, you did enjoy your time at the National Youth Orchestra?

MW: Yes, I did. I did for the experience; I was making music. You don't necessarily look, some people were very supportive and protective of you being there. The others looked at you as [if]

they are coming to tread on our toes in the same way as when the youth orchestra comes to our orchestra, our orchestra members say, 'oh, they are coming to take our jobs.'

CT: Where did you sit?

MW: I sat in the first violin section behind the leader.

CT: Back to the orchestra, when did you start working on their education programme?

MW: In 2004, I think. I must check. It was round about 2003/4.

CT: How was this experience, working in the education programme, and how long did you work there?

MW: Well, I saw it as a good thing. I am not going to talk much about it because I don't want to. But, in my mind, I think more can be done. It is just a matter of...it is only now that we have the academy and the children coming in, but the social problem is still there. Yes, children who come in from the townships... [We] want to teach them and do it well, but we can do more for them. I just feel that the initial teaching, which is being addressed now [...] People who are teaching there are doing a good job. I just feel that it's too much exposure to say we are doing this and that it's not really getting to the child. Once a week and a half an hour are too little; if you want to get through to children from townships, the approach should be holistic (for instance, Montessori... Some go there and some go to an ordinary state school) regarding the levels of equality.

I felt passionate about it, but back then, if you said something controversial like give them this or have an idea that you know would appeal to the Coloured people, or this is where they come from, they say you want to throw the race card. The first-world Whites don't [want] to be told what you cannot do, because they never had that. Then they had the nerve to tell you that when I was overseas, I only ate baked beans and bread. Yes, fine, you did not have money, but you had the opportunity. Here in South Africa, you got told that you cannot go there because of your skin colour. They don't know what it is like really to be told that. They would not understand; they said you are trying to be difficult, but I would say, I am not, but this is where we come from.

4.3 Interview with Leon Bosch

I interviewed Leon Bosch on 17 March 2020 at 13:00. The interview ran smoothly; there were certain problems with my skype; he could not hear or see me. Therefore, I typed all the questions, and he answered them. I could hear and see him throughout the interview. The following transcription is a verbatim record of the interview; editorial corrections are limited to the minimum and only to facilitate comprehensibility. They are indicated by square brackets.

CT: What was your first encounter with music?

LB: I was born in Cape Town in 1961 in the township of Lavistown on the Cape Flats. I am not sure if you know the Cape Flats at all. I started learning music because my parents were members of The Teachers' League of South Africa [(TLSA)] and embodied the philosophy that education is not just a matter of learning to read and write. However, one also had to learn music and other disciplines. They made sure that we all learnt a musical instrument; they took us to the theatre regularly, we went to the library once a week, and we learned a foreign language. So, we had a very holistic education thanks to the progressive outlook of our parents. I started the piano at Holy Trinity School in Matroosfontein, with the school's piano teacher. However, they brought another teacher to the school. This new teacher also taught stringed instruments. So, I started learning the cello at this point. I also received lessons in music theory, piano, and the cello. I made rapid progress and soon joined three string youth orchestras at the University of Cape Town. Noel Travers ran these. He has since passed away but taught generations of incredible string players. He taught us not just how to play together but drilled us in the essence of ensemble playing, Baroque music, Romantic music, Classical music, and everything else fundamental to music. It was a fantastic education. At that point in my life, I had no intention of becoming a professional musician. However, because I was refused a permit to study law, I do not know if you know the permit system, but if you were dark-skinned, you had to have special permission to go to university. I applied to study law, but this was refused, and then I applied to study music – just as a joke—and this permit to study music was granted. So, I went to the University of Cape Town as a cellist and enrolled first [for] the Bachelor of Music education course, but subsequently transferred to BMus (performance). That in itself was an act of defiance because people of colour were actively discouraged from doing the performance course. It was deemed that we should all just become teachers. Once I had started university, I was introduced to Zoltan Kovats, the principal double bassist of the Cape Town Symphony Orchestra. I started double bass lessons. It soon became clear that the double bass and I would be great friends, and that is how my musical life began

– quite by accident and initially through enlightened parents—after that, finding a path that led me into the professional world and the world at large...the United Kingdom. Does that help?

CT: Yes, when did you start lessons with your first music teacher?

LB: Well, I started with my first teacher probably at the age of five/six. I went to school a year early, and I must have started music lessons a year later.

CT: Okay, at what age did you start the cello?

LB: The cello I started maybe ten years old/ nine years old, I do not know. At whatever age people finish primary school, I started the cello just before leaving primary school. Now, the person who taught the cello was a nun/ a nun in civvies. She was from a convent in Tamboerskloof, and visited our school in Matroosfontein once a week, on Friday, to teach a bunch of kids the violin, the cello, the viola, the piano. She travelled out every week from Tamboerskloof in her purple car—and I think I have a photograph of that car somewhere. After a while of learning with her, my parents found me a [another] cello teacher, and I think this was by the time I went to high school. First of all, I went to John Ramsey High school in Bishop Lavis, and then to Salt River High School, which you probably know where the great march of 1976 started— anyway, the cello teacher I went to after was someone called Edna Elphick.

Edna Elphick had been a student of Pablo Casals, and she shared with me all the wisdom that he had imparted to her. She was an excellent teacher and was instrumental in encouraging my interest and love for music. She introduced me to the music of Bach with the cello suites and a piece called Arioso, which is a slow movement from the harpsichord concerto. I know the Arioso exceptionally well. I had the opportunity while a student of Edna's to play it in a masterclass with Pierre Fournier, the legendary French cellist. Have you come across him?

It was [only] when I went to university that music suddenly began to take on a completely different meaning. Until that point, it was just a part of my general education. In addition to all the other orchestras and ensembles at the University of Cape Town, there was something called the Archi Ensemble, run by Noel Travers. It was an incredibly special and fantastic string group ...one of its kind in the world—a revolutionary thing. In that ensemble, we played Mozart Divertimenti, Brandenburg Concerti, the serenades by Tchaikovsky, Dvorak, Elgar, and all the standard repertoire for string ensemble. That provided the basis of fantastic music education but the thing to remember is that this was rather unusual because I travelled from townships into White South Africa to participate in this. I went to Rondebosch/Rosebank to the University

of Cape Town; it might as well have been a different planet. Most of my friends who played in the orchestra were White South Africans, and I was the token dark face.

Noel Travers was, however, a principled man; whenever we went to music festivals elsewhere, they had to get special permission for me to travel on the train with the rest of the ensemble on account of my skin colour and the strict laws in respect of segregated transport. In any case, I enrolled at the University of Cape Town in 1978.

CT: On the FMR interview, you said your father ignited your interest in music, taking you to concerts and getting records from libraries. How did you feel when you looked at the musicians performing at the concert?

LB: The first thing was that he introduced music education to us as an integral part of life and education. Then he encouraged us to practice methodically and systematically, which enabled sustained progress. After that, he took us to concerts regularly. I do not know how they managed to afford to do that all the time, but they also bought a car and drove us to the Baxter Theatre and Concert Hall. The audiences there were, as you probably can imagine, predominantly White South Africans.

Obedying the rules, I mean look, we were constantly being defined by the apartheid authorities and subjected to the rules because of my upbringing and, living in South Africa, but somehow there was ... I mean the university and their staff operated a kind of enlightened policy. They often looked the other way. They would not necessarily enforce the letter of the law. There were individual people like my bass teacher Zoltan Kovats and Allan Stephenson, the composer – who, of course, you probably know still composes and lives in South Africa. They were notable exceptions to the racists at the University of Cape Town, who deliberately and maliciously made life difficult for students of colour.

Some great individuals made it possible for people like me to prosper and, some individuals made it difficult, deliberately setting out to disadvantage us. For example, there was only one staff member with dark skin when I was studying there, and his name was Neefa van der Schyff. He was a guitarist, and if ever one felt a little down or faced some explicit racism, you would go to his room, and he would talk to you about it. He was like the guru, who made people like me feel a little bit better about themselves. We knew we were seen as outsiders; we knew we were unwelcome, but there was somewhere to go. Mrs. Jack, who is now dead, was the guitar professor and the daughter of Elsie Fraser-Munn, who was also on the University of Cape Town staff. They had a slightly different outlook. Elsie Fraser-Munn was an old British

woman who first started a music school in Zimbabwe and then came to South Africa. She taught theory and piano to my sister and a lot of other young kids like us.

But the truth of the matter is that the Cape Town Orchestra was almost totally White. I think towards the end, one person of colour, Michelle Balie, was her maiden name. She played in the second violin section, but other than that, the orchestra was totally White. I did, however, get to play as an extra player with the orchestra, but only because my teacher Zoltan Kovats, who was Hungarian, did not believe in this ‘nonsense of racism’ as he used to call it. So, he invited me to play with the Cape Town Symphony Orchestra as part of my education; it so happened that they were short of bass players, and that presented me with a wonderful opportunity. I would sit next to Zoltan for the rehearsals, and for the concert, I would sit at the back of the section—a fabulous education. So, by the time I left South Africa, I had considerable experience in professional orchestra performance. I was very blessed, but probably because I had a particular attitude – I had a thirst for knowledge and learned in a particular way.

CT: At the age of 15, you were arrested. Could you tell me exactly what happened to you and what organization you were a part of? How long were you in jail?

LB: The arrest at the age of 15 was while I was a Salt River High School student in 1976. 1976 was the year of the great uprising against apartheid, and it started with resistance to the use of Afrikaans as a medium for instruction. You will probably know the protests started in Soweto, and the first person to be shot dead was Hector Pietersen. My father was one of the founders of the New Unity Movement – I do not know whether you know about this, but he was also one of these people arrested and disappeared whenever there was an uprising.

When I was arrested in 1976, 26 October, I was taken to Caledon Square in Cape Town – the security police headquarters first, where the special branch interrogated me. I was eventually released but then rearrested and taken to Salt River Police Station, where I was detained with nine other fellow students. We were held in the cells at Salt River Police Station for ten days before we were charged. Our lawyer was Dullah Omar. Dullah was a family friend and subsequently became Minister of Justice in the first post-apartheid ANC government. Thirty years later, I went to Caledon Square to walk around the building; it is a place that has a mesmeric and unconscious influence over me. We were charged with various offences, political crimes, but Dullah was a good lawyer, and we all were found not guilty, except for one fellow student, Azam Mohammed.

A little documentary has just been made about Salt River High School, the apartheid protests and our detention, and the detention of two of our teachers, and my father was detained during our first court appearance. The documentary is called “Salt River High 1976 – The Untold Story”. It was made by Anwar Omar, who was 14-years old at the time and the youngest prisoner.

CT: If it is not too painful, could you tell me what they did to you? How did you cope with going to UCT just three years later?

LB: Look, as young people, we were all resilient, so whatever they did to us, we just rebounded, but it would be dishonest to say that it did not affect us. Forty years after our detention, there was a reunion, with eight of us ex-prisoners in the very cell in Woodstock Police Station where we had been imprisoned. They took the cameras around and asked everybody, “Here you are 40 years later, how do you feel?” Everybody said, without exception, that the experience of being brutalised had affected every single day of their lives since then. I have to admit that is the same for me. I eventually received treatment for post-traumatic stress (PTSD) in the United Kingdom, where I live. I have been here since 4 January 1982. I thank the psychologist, Dr. Monk Collins, who used EMDR – eye movement desensitisation and reprocessing.

This is a revolutionary technique they use on soldiers, ex-prisoners of war, and anybody who has suffered extreme trauma. I must admit that the benefits for me of EMDR have been almost like a miracle. Everything that I had tried before then to attempt to deal with the effects of the brutality of imprisonment and the whole South African system was wholly ineffective. With all the other forms of treatment, there would usually be a short-term beneficial effect, but it soon evaporated. EMDR has had a permanent and generalising effect on my life. It is an expensive therapy, and it is my view that everybody of my generation should receive this treatment, and the South African state should pay for it.

Music formed an especially important part of my rehabilitation. We are often told about music as having a mythical and wonderful quality, which is what it did for me. Being isolated in a room practising eight hours a day was great therapy, expressing pain, anger in playing, and those emotions that arose because of my painful South African upbringing. It was wonderful to have those possibilities and, my music, of course, the way I play the way I see music was clearly affected by that experience. So, music to me is not just a professional question or means of earning a living or an intellectual pursuit or something to consume like a bottle of wine but an intense part of my being – the essence of my humanity. It means something to me.

CT: If it is not too painful, could you tell me even more about what they did?

LB: Look, the brutality, the ill-treatment is almost irrelevant in a way, because the first thing is just being arrested. At three in the morning, the knock on the door – you know, books have been written about this concept of the knock on the door and to experience it is, of course, [...] something entirely different. The most troubling thing about the knock on the door is that you do not know what will happen; there is uncertainty. So, you are going to be taken away. I remember my parents waking me up, coming into my bedroom to tell me that the police had come for me. Although I was expecting it because my father had warned me to expect this after the protest march, it was still a shock. They were armed police and, I was being taken away— then they drove into Caledon Square, and there was all this security business and alarms. So, it is not just a question of physical brutality but also psychological brutality. They begin to try to undo you with threats of violence and also being exposed to blooded clothes and all sorts of things that were meant to make you worried. Physical beatings, threats of death, but the most painful thing is when they threaten to do unspeakable things to your family, and you're not sure whether it is true/false or whether it's going to happen because you have no power or control over events. That is the painful part. You begin to feel you inflicted the possibility of this pain and extreme brutality on your family.

For example, the security police told me that if I did not speak or sign the statement or incriminate the whole world, they would arrange for my sister to be raped. Of course, if you know life in the townships, you know it is a real possibility. You know, things like that did trouble me quite a lot. I still remember with pain, anger, and I don't know it is sometimes difficult to find the words to describe what makes me feel, but they deprived us of food and water. When they finally allow us to have food and water, it is painful to see what starving people will do when they see food. When we finally had some food, I remember what happened to us, how hungrily we descended on the food. I also remember the circumstance where we had to drink out of a toilet because we were deprived of water. So, it is easy for White South Africans to say move on and forget about it; it is over. No, it is not over. There can be no justice and many of the people who did this to us are still alive, many of the people who believed in this system are still alive, and they still benefit from it. So, they advance in life built upon the brutality meted out to people like me.

It is also important for your generation to understand history because if you don't understand history, you are doomed to repeat it. It worries me that young South Africans of colour, in particular, live as if the struggle never happened. How they approach music, how they approach

education, and I think this is a global problem. The parents (my generation) of these youngsters have a responsibility. I do not know whether they all exercise this responsibility of ensuring that as a nation, society, and as a human race that we never forget. We have a slightly more enlightened view of the future and understand what caused various problems. Those problems arose because of a particular outlook. In essence, the struggle that people waged for liberation from oppression was subverted and betrayed. Because most of the society was not smart enough to analyse this pending betrayal in advance, they are now paying the price. So, in a way, South Africa is a country waiting for a revolution. In much as the same way as the United Kingdom has its political problems – events as they are currently unfolding lead in a particular direction.

CT: That is terrible. Do you have any experiences from your studies at UCT that you would like to share? Any difficulties?

LB: My time at the University of Cape Town, when I look back, was overwhelmingly good for me because I lived according to my agenda. Some people helped me. I mean, look, when I arrived, I was disadvantaged because I had not received the kind of education that kids get when they go to Bishops or SACS or Sans Souci Girls' School or these wonderful schools. They still exist, as you know. I was up against kids from those schools and I came from the townships. When I first arrived, I realised that I had this terrible disadvantage, and I had a choice to either give up or fight. I decided to fight. I practiced every day, eight hours. I went to all my lectures; I did everything. When I started working at the Cape Town Orchestra, I earned some money and could buy music. Before I could buy music, I used to get the guys in the library to copy it for me and bind it with covers. I still have copies of that music here in my house, forty years later. I was resourceful; with very little money, I made things work.

Like me, I also remember how people like us never got opportunities to perform in concerts at other universities. It was always the favourites of the racist tutors at the university. Neefa van der Schyff told me a wonderful story years after I had left South Africa. He told me that in my 3rd year of string exams/ 2nd year, I was the last person on the list for the day to play my exam in the Chisholm Recital Room. The examiners were all desperately tired and wanted to go home, but then they said, but look, this kid still had to play. He said (he described the scenario), he said, "and then the door swung open, and this little Black boy came walking in with this big instrument!" (the double bass) and then he said, "and everybody sniggered, but then this kid started to play and, my God, we had never heard anything like it." He said that suddenly everything went quiet. At the end of it, he said to the panel, "well, we gave 85% to this fiddle

player who we thought was the best person of the day, but this was so much better; what are we going to do?" "How about 100%?" and they all said, "but we can't give 100% for a practical exam," and so they gave me 95%. You know this was the atmosphere we had to operate; they were always trying to undermine you and always trying to cheat you. For example, one of my tutors cheated on me in my exams in aural training. She was eventually fired by the Dean, who was then Professor Brian Priestman. It just so happened that I proved that case because the person who did one part of the exam was a junior lecturer. As I completed the dictation part of the exam, I saw the marks that he wrote in the schedule in pencil, but when it came to my final marks, those marks were very different. I then took up the case when I had been failed again by this tutor. I went to the Dean and explained what I believed had happened – I knew those marks were not true because I had seen what the junior lecturer had written in the schedule. This person, who now lives in the United Kingdom, was called into the office, and he had eventually agreed that it was true that the marks he had given me were not the marks on the schedule. On that basis, the Dean called in this cheating lecturer and I believe she was dismissed. This is what one was up against at the University of Cape Town. They now pretend otherwise, but they stopped at nothing to make life a misery.

Many of the pretty nasty people at the University of Cape Town I now enjoy good friendships with because I reached out to them. There are composers whom I have commissioned to write music for me, who during those years would have trampled on me and did trample on me, but, you know, times change, and attitudes change. They need to be reminded of our common humanity. However, unfortunately, I suppose underneath the veneer of respectability, many of them are still the very same people they were before, the same racists they were before, and have tolerated me only because it is legally required to do so nowadays.

CT: People were nasty to you because of the colour of your skin and not the type of person you were? That's terrible.

LB: It was the question of colour that evoked specific responses in people. Talking to the porters (all of whom were people of colour) was a kind of therapy because they were the only people that were nice to you. They were dark-skinned people too. The porters at the University of Cape Town still remember me. I can go in there now, and they will address me by name. The staff at the City Hall in Cape Town where the orchestra works remember me because I was that one little dark person who came through the backdoors with my double bass. The rest of the world is hostile, and it was hostile based on colour. The hostility was not because I was

a bad musician or nasty person; it was solely because of the colour of my skin. It is easy to forget, but that was the organising principle of the country for my entire time living there.

When I left, it was a matter of escaping, escaping injustice, escaping brutality, escaping mental imprisonment, and lacking opportunity. I knew that I would never be able to have the kind of musical career in South Africa that I wished to have. However, as you probably know, it didn't take me very long before I became the principal double bass of the Academy of St Martin-in-the-Fields, the world's most famous chamber orchestra. I am also now the most recorded double bass soloist of my generation. I have probably personally commissioned more music than any double bass player in the world, and, yes, there are many young people whose lives I have touched in a very good way. For example, just last night on Facebook, I had a message from a young bass player in Armenia. I only ever taught her for half an hour in a masterclass five years ago, but she identifies that half-hour as the half-hour in her life that changed everything for her. She is now a professional musician, very distinct and traveling the world. It is nice to know that I have been able to touch the lives of hundreds of people, literally hundreds of musicians around the world whom I have mentored and hundreds that I have taught.

I do not teach just music; I teach a philosophy of life that unleashes their humanity and personal potential. This is a great responsibility. Who are the people who did that for me? There were very few of them, such as Noel Travers, Allan Stephenson, Zoltan Kovats, Edna Elphick, and one/ two others. The rest were unremittingly hostile. Moreover, I thank those people how I have thanked some of those people by recording their music. So, Allan Stephenson, for example, when I left South Africa, gave me a handwritten copy of a piece that he had written for double bass and orchestra called *Burlesque*. I eventually performed the world premiere of that piece here in the United Kingdom, and as a thank you, he wrote me a concerto. Then to thank him, not just for those two pieces but for his contribution to my musical life, because, let's be honest, when I went to play in the university orchestra, I knew nothing about how to play properly in an orchestra of that size. He gave me orchestral solos to play, concertos to play with the orchestra; he gave me opportunities. He refined my musicianship, and to thank him for that, I took my recording company Meridian Records from the United Kingdom to South Africa. We then recorded Allan Stephenson's *Burlesque* for double bass, his cello concerto, which he had written for Peter Martens, and the double bass concerto. Also, I recorded a disc of Hungarian music to honour Zoltan's contribution to my life. Zoltan Kovats my first double bass teacher. You will probably also know from social media that I have just recorded two CDs that immortalise my relationship with South Africa. The first one is called *'Bass-ically*

Brilliant', it is a CD of duos for cello and double bass with Peter Martens. Now Peter Martens is principal cello of the Cape Philharmonic Orchestra, and he was also in 2002 when I first met him. He said to me after I performed my concerto with the orchestra, would I like to play some chamber music? Furthermore, after that relationship came this duo now called, '*Bass-ically brilliant*' and we commission much music. On this disc is Allan Stephenson's Sonatina for cello and double bass. Even more exciting than that, in April will be released a CD called 'The South African Double Bass,' and on that disc will be just South African music commissioned by me and written for me by great South African composers. There are nine pieces: works by Allan Stephenson, Peter Klatzow, Hendrik Hofmeyr, Grant McLachlan, David Earl, Hans Roosenschoon, Anton Pietersen, Paul Hanmer and Michael Viljoen. This is part of the South African double bass project. This project means that not only do I want to have a reservoir of music by great South African composers for my instrument. I also want to record it so that it can be broadcast. There is music for young South African bass players to play and develop a particular kind of philosophy about playing the bass. It should be expressed in the sound and our common history. So, when any young South African bass player picks up the instrument to play, they will be uniquely identifiable anywhere in the world.

There are a lot of these bass players: one, in particular, has internalised this sound, and he is a young man in Bloemfontein by the name of Ruan Baartman. He came out of one of the projects, and they still have many in Cape Town. So, these young people and some internalise this philosophy and approach to music and sound; to express it through sound. There are all these wonderful little things, and I have a responsibility to my roots. Wherever you go in the world, the one thing you can never do is to cut your roots away. So, this is me returning to my roots and immortalising that in music and my recordings. I have been lucky to have a very successful career; I have toured the world with the academy. I have travelled as a soloist, orchestral musician, chamber musician and, I am now a conductor also. So, my legacy will be recorded in history through the new music that I have been able to bring into being and the imprint that I may have made in the lives of others.

CT: In 1982, you started postgraduate studies at the Royal Northern College of Music; how was this experience? In what year did you become the principal bassist of the Manchester Camerata?

LB: The Royal Northern College of Music was a fabulous place to be during the early 1980s. The principal of the Royal Northern College of Music at that time was Sir John Manuel. Now, Sir John Manuel is a very important person to know, he is again one of those people who have

contributed enormously to my life. South African born, he came to the United Kingdom as a scholarship student, as a composer, who and made his way through the musical fabric in Britain and ended up running the Cheltenham Music Festival and subsequently became the principal of the Royal Northern College of Music. He was the external examiner in 1981 for my final recital exam in Cape Town—one of the first times again when I got the mark that I deserved because there was an external examiner on the panel. I did fabulously well in that exam. I played ten virtuosic pieces by Giovanni Bottesini. That had never been done before, let alone in South Africa, for a young person like me who was at the time 19 to perform the equivalent of 10 pieces of Paganini.

He did mention that he was a Professor in Manchester, and if I ever found my way to England, they would be happy to see me. Moreover, of course, this coincided with my ambitions to leave South Africa. I had befriended a British violinist who had come to South Africa to teach temporarily at the University of Cape Town; his name was Paul Boucher. I mentioned to him that I wanted to come to England, and it just so happened that he knew Rodney Slatford, who was then one of the world's leading bass players. Rodney Slatford was also a professor in Manchester and London and had a Yorke Edition publishing company. I used to buy music from Yorke Edition with money that I earned working in my father's refreshment kiosk at the Park Fair Cinema complex in Elsies River.

It was great, and that was my connection with the real world. I ordered music from London, and these parcels would arrive in South Africa. When I played a piece by a European composer, I travelled through the music; let us say Austria, I was in Austria. When I played a piece by a German composer, I travelled to Germany through the music. When I played Bottesini, it was Italian opera, so I was in Italy. When I played Spanish music – when I played Pedro Valls, I was in Spain, in Barcelona. The Manchester time was wonderful, and this was where I began to make great friendships, enduring friendships. Sir Charles Groves was one of the great British conductors, and he became a real champion of mine. He created great opportunities for me; I went to work with the Royal Liverpool Philharmonic Orchestra as an extra player, where he was the conductor. He introduced me to the Manchester Camerata and recommended that I be the orchestra's principal bass, and that is what I became. I met Neeme Jarvi, the great Estonian conductor who gave me my first job at the Scottish National Symphony Orchestra. All this was happening while I was still studying at the Royal Northern College of Music. I also began to work with the BBC Philharmonic as an extra player and Opera North. I was still a student but was in demand because I could sight-read. I could play my instrument. I won competitions. I

had no money from my parents, who had very little, you know because resources in South Africa were scarce and had other kids to raise.

I became the principal bassist of the Camerata in 1985, I think. I stayed there for 11 years. After the Camerata, I went to the Academy of St. Martin-in-the-Fields. While playing with the Camerata, I did millions of other stuff; I played with the Scottish Symphony Orchestra. In 1984, I was mainly freelancing but, I also played in the Scottish Ballet Orchestra. I had a wonderful career playing chamber music. I was the double bass of choice for the famous string quartets; I played with The Lindsay Quartet, the Medici Quartet, the Brodsky Quartet, and the leading string quartets and leading ensembles. I played with the Camerata Ensemble; I played with the Firebird Ensemble and so many other ensembles that I was privileged to work with. This amounted to something quite incredible – I was also the principal double bass of the East of England Orchestra – it is now called Sinfonia Viva and then I joined the Academy.

What I did at the Academy would not have been possible had it not been for my journey. Cape Town first, then Manchester, and then the Academy. The Academy was a kind of global platform. I played [in] all the world's famous concert halls: Carnegie Hall, Davis Hall in San Francisco, Boston Symphony Hall, Disney Hall in Los Angeles, The Musikverein in Vienna, The Philharmonie in Berlin, and all the other famous halls in music. The Musikverein in Vienna, the Philharmonie in Berlin, and I didn't play there just once I played there dozens of times – it was a privilege. I worked with the world's greatest artists and realised what a great privilege that was. So again, you see, opportunities present themselves when you have curiosity, and you are always willing to do anything.

I recently read the biography of Kenneth Sillito, who was one of the leaders of the Academy. Part of his story is that nothing was too much for him to do; he was always willing to pick up his fiddle and play anything. Out of everything that he did came great opportunities, and I think that has been the story of my life. In essence, the harder you work, the luckier you become. The harder you practice, the more talented you become and, that has always been the story of my life. I am still not done; I am 58 years old now, and I still have a great career ahead of me. As a conductor, I am getting more and more engagements, and I am learning more. This is a new avenue for me. As an author, I am writing a lot – I am having articles published and am also writing my life story. For now, this will be about my life in music; the political story will come later. I still give masterclasses, limited masterclasses because I do not have as much time to travel around to teach. I make teaching videos; I am a professor at Trinity Laban Conservatoire of Music and Dance.

CT: On 11 February 1990 Nelson Mandela was released from prison. Do you remember this day? What were you doing? Did you return to SA after this?

LB: February 1990, yes, I remember that day. My father died that year; he was in hospital. He died of cancer. I remember the release of Mandela and the speech he made. I also remember my father telling me on his deathbed; I only saw him for three hours before he died. When I was excluded from South Africa, on 8 March 1990, my father passed away. I arrived in South Africa on a flight at about 3 in the afternoon. A family friend picked me up at the airport and took me, my wife, and my two sons directly to Groote Schuur Hospital, where my father was. He had been expected to die before that, but he heard that we were going to make an effort to come and see him; it's almost like he hung on. We arrived at Groote Schuur Hospital around 3 pm, and he was dead by 6 pm but he had been able to meet my wife and my two boys. My youngest son was 18 months old at the time and the eldest one a year older. He picked them up onto the bed, kissed them, and was delighted to see them because he had only seen pictures of them until that point.

I remember one important thing that he told me, he warned me that the whole Mandela thing was a big betrayal, and he predicted precisely where we are today, politically. Eventually, the ANC would have to use the police against the population. You probably remember the Marikana massacre, which was the first time in post-apartheid South Africa that the police were again used against the population, and what did they want at the Marikana mines? A living wage. The man that is now our president turned the police on them. My father predicted that sad situation. He was a great politician, but he had always been detained at times of political difficulties in South Africa. He was regularly banned under the so-called Suppression of Communism Act. This meant that he was only allowed to leave the house at 7 in the morning to go to work and he had to be back in the house by 5:30 pm. No visitors, and over the weekends, he was under house arrest. As kids and as a family, it affected our lives dramatically because nobody could visit us. We were isolated. His parents, when they came to visit, had to be outside the gate. The last time he saw his mother, she was outside the gate. The last time he saw his father was outside the gate. They were never allowed to come into our house. I do not think that most South Africans, especially on the other side of the divide, realise that this is how people had to live. The day that Mandela was released, I saw it on television. He was released from Victor Verster Prison, and that is the prison where my father had been detained many times, at the state's pleasure – just to keep him out of the way.

We are familiar with Victor Verster Prison. Mandela made the speech on the steps of the City Hall in Cape Town; I remember it. Now you probably know I have a master's degree in international intelligence and international relations. I have that because when I left South Africa having been blooded in a political struggle and, having been imprisoned, I thought that I understood politics. I realised I still had much to learn. Politics and music are some things that people like to talk about as if knowledgeably, but in ignorance. So, they feel comfortable talking about it. With music, I know that I know music, and I know that I study music, I know that I practice, and I know that when I talk about music, it is from the foundation of some knowledge. I wanted to be sure that when I talk about politics that I had the same foundation. So, I decided to go to university to study politics.

I applied to Salford University, near Manchester, to study a BA in Politics because that's where one should usually start. They asked me to come for an interview, and I talked to them, and then based on that interview, my knowledge of politics was enough to allow me to go directly into a master's degree. They thought I would be wasting my time doing an undergraduate degree. So, I did the MAIR, an MA in Intelligence and International Relations. I realised that I was now testing my knowledge in an arena where everybody should know better than I. I realised that what I was talking about made sense, that everybody agreed with my analysis of the world. I was able to benefit from my analysing work and have a framework. My MA dissertation was about South Africa, and my thesis was entitled: 'Mandela's Miracle: Durable democracy?' I wrote it in 1994 before the election and predicted the election outcome and where the country would be ten years later. In terms of analysis of the future, I was quite right. I graduated from MAIR in 1995.

It was a two-year degree course and I always intended to do a doctorate, but the time has slipped away, and I have yet to complete it, but my research is well underway. My doctorate will be South Africa's place in an international society and the globalised world economy. I have not gotten around to finishing it yet, but it is on the agenda.

When I left the Academy in 2014, the plan was to develop a completely different life. I had no idea what would constitute that new life, but I knew that I wanted to do a little bit of arts journalism, so I went on an arts journalism course - 'The Arts Journalism Bootcamp,' run by the Garden Newspaper, London. It was fantastic. I learnt a lot about the art of journalism and am a much better writer now, six years later. I am receiving regular commissions to write for various publications and have just published '*A Lifetime Discovering Schubert's Trout Quintet*,' published by Rhinegold Publishing.

I am working on a book about my life, a book on music, and a book about my algorithm for music. I started teaching in 1995; through that time, I have worked out what it takes to teach effectively. My algorithm is based on this accumulated knowledge and is, in my opinion, utterly fool proof. It has four clear stages, and I have to write a book about this because somebody else is likely to run off with my idea. One of my students light-heartedly suggested that if I don't write a book about it, he would do so and claim the idea as his own. I am writing about classical music, everyone says that classical music is dead, now I do not believe that. I believe that the paradigm for its delivery to the public and its role in our lives is already dead. I am developing a theory about artistic sovereignty as the cornerstone in a new paradigm for music. I always like to test my knowledge in an arena with people who know better than I and am keen to develop my intellect and experience. The comfort zone is the greatest threat to humanity, so I do not allow myself that luxury.

There is a composer in Austria by the name of Shane Woodborne. He is South African, and as a kid, we played together in youth orchestras. He was White South African, and from Fish Hoek, I was Coloured, and from Bishop Lavis, we sat together in the string orchestra. Then I became a bass player and, I was the only bass player in the Archi Ensemble. His parents sent him to Salzburg because they believed he could be the next Mozart. He was a great pianist, a fantastic cellist, and a very good composer. He still is an excellent composer; he now runs the Camerata Salzburg. He wrote a concerto for me last year which I went to play at the Salzburg Festival. The piece is called Red Ink; it is a splash of red ink on a piece of white paper. Red Ink, a piece for double bass and string orchestra. That red ink symbolises the blood of Hector Pietersen, the first person to be shot dead in the 1976 uprising in South Africa. The piece is incredible—he embeds the South African national anthem Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika in each of the three movements. The first time surreptitiously, if you did not listen out carefully, you would miss it. The second time it is more identifiable, and the third time it is heard is in the final movement, in all its glory—and he exploits the fabulous cadence at the end. It is emotionally a very powerful piece and expresses his understanding of what happened during the apartheid era. It's quite wonderful to know that there's somebody like Shane who demonstrates such a principled understanding of what we face—even if [we are] from different sides of the racial divide. This is a signpost to the future. We have talked about reconciliation in South Africa, but it has always been a one-way street. Reconciliation means that there have to be two parties involved. Shane's gesture of writing me this piece and inviting me to perform it with his orchestra was an incredible gesture—a compelling and emotional act of value that he did.

We have this eternal question about what music is or should be. It is not about earning a living; it's something much deeper than that; it expresses human life in sound. If it hadn't been for music, who knows what might have happened to me. When I left prison during my waiting period and after the trial, I became very reclusive. When I look back now, I know that I suffered from depression – I withdrew from society and didn't speak to anybody. However, while I was at the University of Cape Town, one person did something, and I now look back and realise what it is she did for me. I used to practice alone, and in those days, I would go out and have smoke breaks outside on the steps of the College. On this particular day, I sat alone, drinking a can of Coca-Cola, and eating some crisps. This beautiful dark-haired woman came bounding up the steps and, she stopped, put her hand in my packet of crisps and took one out of it. I said nothing; she said hello and moved on.

Half an hour later, there was a knock on my practice room door. This young woman was at the door of my practice room. I always locked it because I didn't want to interact with people, but on this occasion, I unlocked the door but did not open it; she did and walked in. She talked to me, and I said nothing. She just sat down in the room, unpacked her bag, and did some work. Then left and came back an hour again, perhaps after a lecture. This continued for quite some time; every morning at 8 am, she would turn up, knock on the door, I would unlock the door, and she would come in. She would speak to me, and I didn't say anything. Eventually, I started speaking to her, and we became very good friends. I left South Africa in 1982, and many years later, I discovered that she now lives in Belgium, and professional, she works with victims of trauma in warzones. I now realise that she had already begun to develop those skills then. She enabled me to re-join society, speak to people and engage with the world. I might have led a completely different life, following the experience of imprisonment, were it not for my interaction with her.

CT: What is her name?

LB: Her name was Pamela Belle; she was an oboist. There are so many wonderful people in the world.

CT: In the interview with *The Strad*, you said that 'music was as universally White in the UK as in SA and you are sorry that not much has changed. While you were in South Africa, how did you feel about who you were, a Coloured South African playing Western classical music? Did you create your own identity?

LB: Interesting question, difficult question. I did not look upon Western classical music as Western classical music, which is the first thing to say. I looked upon it as music. I know there's the trite thing about music being a universal language, but you know Beethoven was Beethoven. So, I dealt with music on its terms; without categories, I looked upon all these branches of music as branches of the same tree.

In terms of identity, I didn't look upon it in that way. My sole responsibility as an artist was to the music. I had to play music to the best of my human capabilities. For example, if I played Bottesini's Elogy, the only thing that concerned me was that an Elogy is a lament for the dead. Did my Elogy, when I played it, fulfil that function? So, it was on those aesthetic grounds alone that I engaged with music. Just to put the Elogy into perspective, my second bass teacher was called Max Runge; he was German-Jewish, and they had escaped Nazi persecution. In South Africa, he had been the bass player in the Durban Orchestra and the Cape Town Symphony Orchestra. His wife had tragically been attacked, and she was in a coma. She spent the last years of her life unconscious and, she never recovered. Before my exam, one day, I went to play through my programme for him. We went up to the Chisholm Recital Room and my pianist was called Margot Krut, a White South African from Craighall in Johannesburg. She was a wonderful pianist and we worked together for all my time at the University of Cape Town. We played through Bottesini's Elogy and Tarantella and there were only low lights in that room, and when I finished the Elogy, I stopped because I expected Max to say something, but he said nothing. I looked over to where he was sitting in the corner and saw tears in his eyes. I carried on with the Tarantella, and when I finished, I looked over, but he said nothing. He had tears streaming down his face. He came back the next day and he said, "I am so sorry about yesterday, it's just that when you played the Elogy, it brought back all those memories of the pain, your performance of the Elogy was just so beautiful." At that point, I realised that I possessed the power to use music to express my internal temperament. I see music in this way. This is the power that it had. The other way I saw it was as a means of resistance. In apartheid South Africa, you were not entitled to have an opinion or speak up for yourself or have an identity; you were just a slave, and you were dehumanised. Music allowed me to express my humanity without opening my mouth, without having the risk of coming under attack. If one has not grown up with things, it is difficult to imagine.

Going to university every day, I had to catch the train in my earlier years and, later, I drove. My father bought another vehicle so that I didn't run the risk of getting murdered on my way home late at night after orchestra. I used to have to change trains—I took the line from

Lavistown to Mutual, then I had to cross the bridge and then get a train from Mutual to Rondebosch. You had to be sure that you crossed the correct bridge, the bridge for non-Whites. If you accidentally set foot on the wrong bridge, you were beaten to a pulp. This was just a reality being in situations where you were not even allowed to cross a bridge or sit on a bench. There were university buses from the station to campus, but you could not get on the university bus; you had to walk up to College because the buses were for White students only. The residences at university were for Whites only, so you had to travel back and forth from the townships. A handful of students came from Paarl every day on the train. They would have loved to be able to stay in the residences, be able to practice at night, and go and enjoy some restaurants and social life. However, no, they had to travel on the train every day back to Paarl and these trains were dangerous. Music was also a question of resistance.

CT: Did your community support you? Did you ever get the opportunity to play for them?

LB: The community, I mean look, this is what the community was like. Everybody ran the risk of murder, death, robbery, and all of the most unspeakable things in the townships. In my street, it was 12th Street; in every other house, some kids had been hanged for murder or charged with robbery. It was a brutal life. There were gangs and you only survived if the gangs on your side of the fence protected you from the gangs on the other side. Our parent's generation looked after all of us.

CT: Hanged for murder by the police? Or gangs?

LB: No, hanged for murder by the South African judicial system. South Africa used the death penalty almost mercilessly. I don't know the figures, but they hanged probably more people than anywhere else in the world. Maybe the United States ran them a close second, but I think South Africa was the world leader in using the death penalty in those years, and it was used almost exclusively against the people of colour. Working men in the townships coming home on a Friday night would be murdered for their wages. It was dangerous. For instance, in our parent's generation, Mrs. Cleinwerck next door, Mrs. Jacobs across the road, I know them very well because they looked after us and made sure we were safe. We had a community, and we practised solidarity. Every kid was not just the responsibility of the parents but was the responsibility of everybody else. This was how we lived because they knew that we faced the same dangers. The kids next door were like stick people; they were so thin because they didn't have enough food. Their father's dead now, but the mother is still alive; Thelma Cleinwerck and the kids are doing better now. One person that was my age was my buddy, Alan

Cleinwerck, who died a few years ago prematurely at the age of 57. He died of poverty, hunger, starvation, and social murder. I feel so sad for my friend, Alan, who died of the consequences of poverty. As a kid barefoot every day, one pair of socks, shoes, and one shirt for school every day, this was life.

I go back to the townships when I visit South Africa to see all these people, Mrs. Jacobs and Mrs. Cleinwerck. The people looked after all of us and gave us a vision for the future. They fought the struggle, believed in us, and wanted a better future for us. I look in their eyes now and, they look defeated. They are waiting to die. They say without exception, "This is not what we fought for; we have been betrayed." The townships still exist, conditions are worse, and nothing has improved in people's daily lives. That is what I'm talking about when I say Mandela has betrayed everyone. When he died, all the world leaders came to his funeral, Barack Obama, Prince Charles, David Cameron, and Western leaders. Why did they come? It was to celebrate their man; he had worked tirelessly on their behalf—they had never done better. People of the townships, I am sure, were sad also that Mandela passed away, but they had nothing to celebrate because he delivered nothing for them.

So, playing for the community, I only ever once played in our local hall; it was a small event which had many other things attached to it but getting a double bass home from the university because I didn't have an instrument at home, I played on an instrument that belonged to the university. To buy a bass was impossible because the kind of money necessary was impossible. I can't remember how it happened that I was allowed to take a double bass home to play a little concert. The concert was at the community centre in Bishop Lavis. Nobody from my community in South Africa ever had the chance to hear me play in the City Hall or the Baxter Theatre because those places were off-limits to them. It was illegal to set foot in them. Do you know what is tragic also? My kids, I have two sons; one is 31, the other is 33. When they first came with me to South Africa, we did wonderful things; we got the cable car up Table Mountain, went to the beach, climbed the mountain, and went to restaurants. They said to me, "My God, dad this is wonderful. Did you do all this when you were growing up?" and I said no, and they said, "why not?" and then I realised the reason I did none of that was that it was illegal during my youth. Going up the cable car was illegal, going to the beach was illegal, doing anything was illegal. Music allowed you to resist that. It was a fighting thing; it wasn't about having a career or making money or putting food on the table; no, it was resistance. I think that is what has propelled me on my musical journey ever since. Every time I pick up the bass to play, it still feels the same; it is a matter of life and death.

You know, you raised the question of you know the complexion of orchestras in the United Kingdom. South Africa has done a lot to deal with that question, but they face the same challenges as the rest of the world. It is about money, it's about social structures, about embedding these things in everybody's lives, and as long as we have the levels of inequality and social inequality in South Africa, there can be no real change. Something needs to happen, and it's going to take a revolution because none of the old remedies work. Look, with the coronavirus in the United Kingdom, everyone realises that it is not just a virus. It has consequences for all of humanity and for the economy. In the music business here, most musicians are freelance, meaning they don't have a job or employment rights. They just get paid when they work. There are very few orchestras that work with a salary. It means that a large wave of freelance music people is going to go bankrupt because there is no work for the next two months. Everything is closed, so it has catastrophic consequences. This kind of dramatic circumstance precipitates change and, hopefully, South Africa will also be a part of it.

I listened to the South African President's speech where he spoke about coronavirus, and I have to say that it was a very much more statesmanlike intervention than any that I have seen from leaders in the West. Here in the United Kingdom, our prime minister is worse than useless. In the United States, they are making billions available for big businesses but nothing for the public. Now is the time, especially with what happened in 2008 when the banks were bailed out. The time has come to bail out human society—it is our money in any case. So, I think we face interesting times.

I was meant to come to South Africa in May; I was going to play a CD launch concert for *'Bass-ically Brilliant'* with Peter Martens on the 8th of May in Stellenbosch. After that, conduct the UCT Symphony Orchestra's Concerto Festival, then I was meant to visit Lusaka for a few days to do some work. Thereafter, double bass masterclasses with the South African National Youth Orchestra were to follow. Then, concerts with my ensemble, the Ubuntu Ensemble, [which comprises] South African musicians who live in the United Kingdom. We were going to have three concerts: at Greyton/Genadendal Festival, Stellenbosch University, and Cape Town Concert Club. Unfortunately, all of this is now cancelled. It is a real shame, I was so much looking forward to making this pilgrimage to South Africa, but the virus has [put] paid to that.

CT: You worked at the Purcell School; when did you start? Then, when did you start at the Trinity Laban Conservatoire of Music and Dance in London?

LB: Purcell School, I taught there last year for one academic year. 2018-2019. Very useful, and an excellent experience to teach at a specialist music school. However, I decided that it could no longer form a part of my future for several reasons. The level of commitment required to teach young people in a school regularly is pretty all-encompassing. Every kid has unique problems. It's not just about teaching the instrumental lesson for one hour; it requires the involvement of emotional, intellectual, and other resources, which is quite extreme. I felt that I couldn't justify that big challenge and that the demands on time from other things conflicted with that.

Trinity Laban, I've been teaching there for close to ten years. I enjoy and value my professorship at the conservatoire. I have students that are already fully formed musicians but lack a framework for the future. My students are very international in origin, so I have one Indian student, one from Britain, another from Bulgaria, another from New Zealand, and Portugal. It's very international, so I enjoy that challenge. Then being associated with the institution confers certain kinds of benefits upon me. When I talk at conventions or elsewhere, I am a professor—titles in Western society matter. Fortunately, at my age, with a long track record, it helps. I like my work at Trinity Laban. It is a very progressive conservatoire. Whatever one wants to do, they will listen to you and do it. There are institutions where you have such rigid rules and frameworks that nothing is possible. I enjoy that environment. Teaching is a great responsibility and also a significant challenge. Without proper teaching, there can be no proper future. As I said earlier, my job as a professor is to teach people to play music and give them a framework for life. Through analysis, it means understanding music in human life and learning the responsibility to know that music is like life; it is infinite.

There is a certain level of understanding and skill developed through human life; one joins with all that experience and one has to contribute something to this unique understanding. One does this to make it an even better profession for those who follow in one's footsteps. I am afraid that Western society has encouraged this idea that we go through our professions and whatever else we do as a finite thing. For instance, in a competition, if you are not the winner, you have lost. Human life is not like that and, so we have a faulty framework for human life. We must return to something somewhat enlightened and inclusive.

You probably know of the South African word, 'ubuntu,' which means that we are who we are because of where we come from and our connection to the world. Success is not an individual achievement. All the social fabric around us enables and allows us to achieve what we wish to achieve. Without this social fabric, we would be nothing. This is precisely what I mean when

I talk about Zoltan Kovats, Max Runge, Sir John Manuel, all these wonderful people along the way, and Sir Charles Groves, that have contributed to my life; without them, I would not be who I am today.

I have to remember that I am also reminded that my father, the politician who died at the age of 56, contributed to the struggle of South Africa and paid the price in being regularly imprisoned. My mother taught for 40 years – she taught generations of kids to read and write. I still get emails from kids who say, "your mother changed my life." "It was that year at school that changed everything for me." We have this responsibility. It is not about us; it's not about our little spot on the planet; we are part of something far more significant. When one teaches, we have to remind our students: it is not about them, it's not about the nation-state, it's about human society.

If, as many people believe, the only intelligent work in the entire universe is on planet earth, we have a great responsibility to ensure that it endures and makes the most every day. If life is truly that special, can we afford just to go and scan barcodes every day? No. In South Africa, you know there is still a struggle for the basics in life. Millions of people don't have enough food, don't get enough education, schools have no toilets. Every day I read about the country of my birth, and I converse with people who live there. I also have an apartment in Cape Town. I decided that since I was never allowed to be a part of the country of my birth, I had to have somewhere that was my own. So, I have an apartment in Gardens in Cape Town, so when I come home to South Africa, I can open the front door, I can sit down, close the door behind me, and that is my little spot in South Africa. A country that rejected me in the apartheid years, a country that believed that I didn't have the right to a future, and a country that brutalised us.

So, I try to change the relationship with the country of my birth bit by bit and contribute to the lives of those people like me. You know, many young people like me in South Africa have committed no crime except to be born into poverty. So, I would like to help them, give them a vision for the future, make them believe that they can be anything. If they don't have dreams, life will be miserable.

CT: I am not sure if I asked, but who supported your studies financially in the UK?

LB: This was how it was: I played competitions and I did scholarship auditions, then if I did not win, I'd starve. So, I learnt very quickly how to play to win. I was able to feed myself; I was able to pay the rent, I was able to pay my fees, but I earned every single penny myself through hard labour, dedication, and hard practice. Nobody was able to help me. I was just this

little dark kid that travelled halfway across the world with a dream. If you have dreams, you have to fund them yourself. All the solo recordings I have funded myself, and how I have funded them is – you will probably know that I have played on a few thousand films and pop tracks. So, I made a lot of commercial music throughout my life in addition to my classical music career. I played all the James Bond movies from 1995 onwards; I played all the Harry Potter films, the Lord of the Rings, I played Madonna, Michael Jackson, and many other artists. The royalties from that commercial work is the money that pays for me to record discs like *The South African Double Bass*, *Bass-ically Brilliant*, Allan Stephenson's disc of concertos, the Hungarian disc for my teacher Zoltan Kovats, and all these things. So, it's a trade-off; I have worked hard; I have worked seven days a week all my life. I practise every day, still. I started the double bass at the age of 16, and I am 58 now. That's 42 years; I still practise because I love it, and it's not about earning a living. It's about living the musical dream.

4.4 Interview with Franklin Larey

On 27th March 2020 and 18th April 2020, I interviewed Franklin Larey. These interviews were merely follow-up interviews to get more information for my research in combination with the substantial interview on his life he has already done. The following transcription is a verbatim record of the interview; editorial corrections are limited to the minimum and only to facilitate comprehensibility. They are indicated by square brackets.

CT: What is your date of birth?

FL: I was born on 19th April 1961.

CT: How would you prefer to be identified? For this research, I have decided to call the performing musicians Coloured performing musicians. Although derogative, it is the most recognised term. However, if you wish to be identified differently racially, please tell me?

FL: I wish to be identified as a Black South African.

CT: When was your first encounter with the piano or music? And was it at this moment that you knew you wanted to become a musician?

FL: I had my first piano lesson at the age of 16 when I was living in Malmesbury, where I was born. Yes, I knew immediately that this is what I wanted to do; I was glued to the piano every day since then. It has been a journey, but yes, I knew exactly and immediately that this is what I wanted to pursue. I think the circumstances of my late start are important to consider and to record because of apartheid, we did not have music education in the schools that I attended, and no White teachers wanted to teach me. There was one in Malmesbury and one in Moorreesburg that I encountered through a choir rehearsal (she came to coach the choir), but they all were reluctant to even engage in giving me lessons. The lady from Moorreesburg encouraged me to continue my piano studies, though. So, that is a very important consideration.

CT: Why are the circumstances of your late start important to consider?

FL: Because if I had access to music education, I probably would have started earlier. Earlier, because I also nagged my parents from a very young age.

CT: What was the name of your first piano teacher?

FL: My first piano teacher's name was Alden April, and he was also my neighbour [at the time.]

CT: How long did you take lessons with Alden April before you started lessons with Gideon Slingers? And in what year did you start with Slingers?

FL: I had lessons with Alden April for about six months, in which he taught me everything from beginning methods and so on etc. In 1976, I started with Gideon Slingers. Gideon was my teacher until I went to the University of the Western Cape.

CT: How did he help you train as a pianist and prepare you for university? And where did you practise during this time?

FL: He was tremendous in that he had formal training from Hewitt Training College in Athlone, and he was a pianist himself. He also played the organ very beautifully. He helped me with technique, [and he] took me through the Royal School of Music's graded piano examinations. He was an absolutely fantastic piano teacher; I was grateful to have him as someone at that very late stage in learning how to play the piano.

CT: Did you ever have the opportunity to watch piano recitals/ pianists play with the CTSO during apartheid?

FL: Early on, I did not have the opportunity to go to concerts during the apartheid period because I was in high school; it was in Malmesbury. The stories we heard, especially my parents, had contact with the members of the EOAN group, the opera company in Athlone, and the discrimination was just too awful to want to go to concerts. In the early 70s, I guess I cannot remember; the early stories I got from my childhood were that Black and so-called Coloured people had to sit at the back, underneath the balcony, and there was no reason for me to go there. My parents, in particular, my dad, comes from a political family and disagreed that we should be subjected to that kind of humiliation. So, as a high school student, I never went to any of the Cape Town Symphony Orchestra performances. As a student at UWC, my exposure to those performances was sporadic. I remember hearing John Theodore at the City Hall. Since UWC was a very activist campus and our interaction with anything that extended this kind of horrible discrimination against people, we did not want anything to do with [it]. We were also discouraged (rightfully so, perhaps) from attending. I hope I answered your question.

CT: Yes, it does. In what year did you start your studies at UWC?

FL: I started my studies at UWC in 1979 and started a Bachelor of Arts in Music, and I had two majors. I majored in Music and Psychology.

4.4.1 Interview on 18th April

CT: I am just going to continue from where we left off the last time.

FL: No problem.

CT: You studied at UWC with Bruce Gardiner. Could you describe how this helped your growth as a pianist?

FL: Yes, I think it was probably at that time; with the political atmosphere of the time, it was probably the best place for me to be. Without having to endure the kind of pressure and racial issues, for instance, that I had to deal with had I gone to UCT. I do not remember if Stellenbosch was even open to non-Whites at that time. It was a very supportive environment. I did not study for a BMus degree; I did a BA with music as a major. The other major was psychology. So, I had more of a liberal kind of education, where I could take many other courses outside of music and develop as a person in that way as well, which I thought was good. My teacher, Bruce Gardner, was an excellent pianist himself and was very inspiring. He is the person that I credit for making me get used to the concert stage. So, it was a wonderful experience.

CT: Okay. When did you start taking lessons at UCT? In the previous interview, you stated that you started lessons after your BA degree.

FL: I finished my BA in music and psychology at UWC. Then I did a secondary teacher diploma as well. I fully intended to teach in a high or primary school, which was not very attractive to me. However, immediately upon my graduation, the university then hired me as a junior lecturer. So, I was on the staff faculty at UWC, and then I went to take private lessons at UCT with Laura Searle. Then, ultimately, she convinced me to enrol for the honour's degree at UCT. I did enrol but never finished, so, ultimately, I'm a UCT dropout!

CT: What year was that?

FL: That was in 1985.

CT: Okay so, you were junior lecturer in 1985 as well and before that?

FL: Yes, let me see. I started at UWC in 1979. In 1983, I was appointed as a junior lecturer at UWC. Then, I went to UCT in 1985.

CT: And then, in 1985, you applied for the Fulbright scholarship?

FL: Correct, and my stay at UCT was not very pleasant. It was during the height of lots of violent protests with the police and the army action in our neighbourhoods. So, it was very odd to go to UCT, where everything was very calm coming from [the] UWC campus, where we sometimes had terrible violence with the army and police action on our campus. So, going to UCT was never a pleasant experience, and when I found out towards the end of 1985 that I was

granted the Fulbright scholarship, I simply just stopped my studies. So, that was it, and I fled that. I did not need all that stress and discomfort.

CT: Okay, this is jumping back, but you spoke about political unrest on campus. Were you ever involved in politics? Because you did say, the first reason you applied to UWC instead of UCT was that you did not want to apply for the permit, which would mean complying with the apartheid system.

FL: Correct, my family was very much involved in the politics in Malmesbury (United Party, I think). My grandfather was not all that involved. On the UWC campus, I was involved as the chair of the UWC music society; all societies engaged with the broader leadership (Student Representative Council) on campus to determine political action and those kinds of things. At UWC, there was a very firm decision made that we would not go into White neighbourhoods to perform and we restricted our performance to our local communities. The activity on campus was very stressful because I was also staying in residence. So, there was much engagement with me as the chair of the music society to monitor our activities and requests to provide music for some gatherings, mainly at the residence. So, it was very stressful and it was also very conflicting for me because my friends outside of the music area did not understand that we had to practice every day. So, they prevented us from practising, and then at some stage they started calling the music we played 'bourgeois music,' which was politically unacceptable to them. They questioned why we were playing European music during the struggle, and they physically threw us out of the practice rooms. They came and hosed pianos with water once.

CT: How did this affect you? Them calling it 'bourgeois music'?

FL: It was traumatising and very upsetting. What I found so ironic, though, was that when I was in res there was a lounge area with a piano in it and the very same people used to ask me to play for them. I would play Chopin and Beethoven and they would really like it. However, during the very intense unrests, they would not allow that to happen. Then after they would come to sit there and listen to me play when I was playing. So, it was very ironic and still conflicting.

CT: Did it ever lead you to question yourself? Or try and create a different identity for yourself?

FL: That never really happened to me. I was very comfortable with what I was doing. I understood what I was doing, and I did not view it as betraying my own identity to pursue classical music. On the contrary, it was an important vehicle to express myself and something that I was always curious about all the time. So, it never really created that kind of conflict for

me. I was trying to reason for my friends with their views, because they had conflicting experiences and watched television all the time. At that time television was a very White experience; it was a propaganda tool, but I would see them sitting in the lounge area watching television. I explained to them that it is no different from me practising the piano. As bizarre as that may sound.

CT: Yes, I get the idea.

FL: It's crazy.

CT: Yes, you said that when you studied with Laura Searle, she pushed you to audition for the Youth Music Festival and you got to play with the CTSO. When and how was this experience?

FL: That was not the CTSO; it was the CAPAB, Cape Performing Arts Board Orchestra at the Nico Malan Theatre, which is now Artscape. It was the opera and ballet orchestra that had the Youth Music Festival and I was studying with her at that time at UCT. The conductor of that festival was Brian Priestman and he was the Dean and Director at the College of Music at UCT. I think he is Canadian²¹. I did not think that I would make it, later I was very happy. That was sort of odd because, again, it was in those days that theatre was a very controversial place because of the discrimination and the White-only policy. I do not know if you know the story of Virginia Davids the Soprano. Do you know who she is?

CT: Yes, I do know her.

FL: To give you some insight into what happened at that time, Angela Gobbato cast her as Aida, and she would become the first non-White soloist in an opera. Friends of the Opera started a petition to prevent him from doing that because they felt that Black singers should only be allowed in the chorus and nothing more. He defied them and he challenged them to stop supporting opera, so she actually debuted, and Angelo Gobbato won that battle with them. So, that was a fascinating time for the opera house. I was teaching at UWC at the time and one of the board members of CAPAB was Richard van der Ross, the Rector of the University of the Western Cape, so he was my boss. So, he actually spoke with me as well about the thought, but it was weird; it's nothing like the Youth Music Festival you see today where everything is very integrated and open, free, and a happy affair. So, it was strange for me.

CT: Okay, and do you remember when that was?

²¹ Brian Priestman was born in the United Kingdom.

FL: I think it was 1985. No, it was 1986; yes, that is when I left. I left in September 1986 and the festival was during a winter month.

CT: Okay, so you also spoke about the exchange concert you played at Stellenbosch University. I presume that you were probably the only person of colour performing at this concert. How were you received and how was this experience?

FL: That was a stressful experience for me because, again, it was during the height of protests. It took me a long time to drive to Stellenbosch, because I had to go through roadblocks. I was stopped about three times on my way because at that time, the security police and the army had roadblocks on many highways and I remember coming from Malmesbury and going to Bellville had to go through roadblocks. They would search the car and ask me questions like, 'where are you going?' I was a little bit upset that evening with my UCT colleagues because I was late, not late for the concert, but we were asked to be there half an hour before the concert starts so that everybody could play through on the piano. I could not be there half an hour before because of the roadblocks and they had no appreciation for that, and they were just rude. I chose not to explain what happened because I did not believe that they were interested or had no empathy for anybody outside of their world, so I played. I remember I played two Scarlatti sonatas and then left.

CT: Okay, have you ever heard of a pianist called Jan Volkwyn?

FL: That sounds so familiar, but I cannot say that it rings a strong bell for me.

CT: You describe your experience in Cincinnati as the first time in your life where you could be who you were and no one questioned anything about you. Could you elaborate more on this and your time there?

FL: Yes, it was the first time that I felt integrated. I was part of an extensive international group of people because there were students from all over the world at the Conservatoire. Interestingly, it was also the first time in my very life where I could openly engage and become friends with White South Africans. I felt that it was bizarre that we had to leave the country to interact like that because all other interaction in South Africa has always been very strained or separate or hardly at the level that you can be friends at that time. However, the Cincinnati experience was very important because I had a lot of support and was finally feeling unchained, if I could use that word and not feel so intimidated by people and their races. There was no question for me at that time—your race was the very last thing on anybody's mind; you were a person and a human being as a starting point.

CT: Okay, I am just going to jump back because, I did not ask you this, but how was your experience with Laura Searle and how did she help you as a pianist?

FL: She was very important because she is the person that helped me with technique and technical things. She was a very thorough teacher. She was a concert pianist herself; she was playing a lot. She probably played with the Cape Town Symphony Orchestra at least twice a year at that time. She had a very strong studio of pianists. Francois Du Toit was in her studio at the same time as me. So, there were many strong pianists in her studio, so we had our weekly studio classes and it was always a very high-powered session. She was an excellent and truly dedicated teacher. She supported me and I think she was very disappointed when I decided not to finish my honours and instead go to the States without dealing with that stress.

CT: So, you started studying in the United States in 1986 and then you did your master's and doctorate there?

FL: Correct. Yes, I did my master's degree, then I did an artist diploma and then finished my doctorate as well.

CT: Okay, could you please provide a timeline of this?

FL: It was two years for the master's, two years for the artist's diploma and then I had a three-year residency for the doctorate and took time and travelled while writing my doctoral thesis. I was there for 10 years and I returned to South Africa in 1997, late 1996, beginning of 1997.

CT: That's a long time. So, you did your doctorate from 1990–1994?

FL: Yes, and then I was just travelling and playing and working on my doctoral thesis. Which I then submitted in September of 1996. I had to finish it because I had accepted my appointment at UCT to start in January 1997.

CT: Could you tell me about competitions in which you played at this time and any achievements or awards you received?

FL: Oh yeah, one of the wonderful things which happened to me which was a confidence booster for me is, after being at the Cincinnati Conservatory for two months I won their concerto competition and that was quite a thing, because that competition is tough. The calibre of students at the conservatory is extraordinary, but I won the competition and I played with the University Philharmonia Orchestra, which was wonderful. I won several competitions, the Young-Chan international piano competition and I was the winner of several prizes at the Joanna Hodges International Piano Competition. I was the bronze medal winner at the New

Orleans International Piano Competition, I had a duo partner and we won several piano duo competitions. We were finalists at the very well-known Dranoff International Two Piano Competition in Miami, Florida. We were featured in a television documentary that very same year and on national radio. So, I did quite a lot of things. The competition circuit was very stressful. As I tell some of my students today, you will end up doing 100 competitions, and you will win three. It is true that once you get into that groove of going to competitions, and you probably know this too, you see the same people at every competition.

CT: Yes.

FL: There was this joke I had with some people when we went to the same competition, we would look at each other and say, I wonder who will win this time? It is so unpredictable: each competition is different.

CT: Okay, so after ten years in America you came back to South Africa to work at UCT. In 1997 you started at UCT and in 2002 you were appointed as the director of the SACM. Could you tell me more about your experience coming back to SA and taking the post at UCT?

FL: Yes, correct. Well, that was a very quick rise to become a director because I was fairly young and I was very happy to be back home. There was a lot of hype around my appointment at that time, lots of press interviews, radio interviews and concerts. So, it was a lot of fun and I played in almost every single music festival in the country for several years. Then, of course, the appointment as director came and then my life changed somewhat because I could not play as much. Because of the administrative responsibilities and practising, it was slightly different, so it took a little bit of concert playing time away from me, even though I tried to keep it up. Then I was appointed as the director of the Adamant Music School in Vermont, the summer programme in the United States. That was a relief in many ways because it was very performance orientated. I played a lot of concerts at that festival and did many collaborations. My time as a director at the College of Music was, I think, an important point in the history of the College because of the transformation agenda that I pushed in terms of appointments of Black staff and Black faculty members. Also, recruitment and the curriculum's transformation make it easier for underprivileged Black South Africans to be integrated into the regular BMus programme. Instead of making them feel like outsiders in a bridging programme first, with no guarantee that they will be accepted into the actual degree programme. So, what we did was design the BMus programme so that there was remedial education brought into the degree

programme and not as a separate programme. So, that was very good, what it did for the opera programme was extraordinary and for the African music programme.

Interestingly, the African music programme today in terms of post-graduate work is much stronger than any other programme at the College of Music and, again, because of the transformation, and the appointment of Sylvia Bruinders as the head of the African music programme was a victory. I understood the responsibility to recruit and retain students because that was a difficult issue at the time in the history of the College: we would recruit students, and they would drop out. Hence, retention became as important as recruitment. So, you had to take care of the retention as much as you desire the recruitment of students.

CT: How was the adjustment coming back from the United States, because when you left, apartheid was still in place and when you came back apartheid had been replaced.

FL: It was weird. I could not believe that I could walk around in Rondebosch and look at apartments to buy! In Rondebosch, where I was never allowed to be in. So, it was strange for me, and it was a very exhilarating time to see the change and the increased confidence that I saw non-White South Africans move around with and express themselves. It was the time of Nelson Mandela, that was the golden years immediately after apartheid. The University of Cape Town went through a lot of transformation with Vice-Chancellor Mamphela Ramphele. She was appointed as Vice-Chancellor and she started the year before I arrived. She was fairly new, not on campus but as Vice-Chancellor, so it was exhilarating. It was wonderful and a great experience to be back.

CT: Allow me to go back to your time as a student. You said you did not want to apply to UCT and instead applied to UWC because of the permit system. However, when you started lessons with Laura Searle in 1985, did you have to apply for a permit or not?

FL: Now, that's a very good question because this is how absurd racial politics had become. Because I was teaching at another university, I was exempt from that requirement.

CT: But that does not make any sense?

FL: It does not. But I was a faculty member at the University of the Western Cape; I had open access to UCT.

CT: Okay, so even if you wanted to study, you still did not have to apply for a permit because you did eventually enrol for the Honours program?

FL: Yes. I could go as a faculty member, but I also believe that the government also had a rule that you could not apply to a White university if the Black university offered the same programme. For example, UWC did not offer a BMus degree; this is how students of colour got into UCT, with permission from the State. My standing as an academic at UWC gave me access to UCT without the need for a permit.

CT: Why did UWC not offer a BMus?

FL: The music department was very young and I believe that eventually after I left they started offering BMus and MMus degrees. It started as a music department within the Faculty of Arts and probably had to use the existing degree structures and did not apply to offer BMus degrees for a long time because to offer a degree...there is a formal process that you have to go through. You have to go through the Department of Higher Education to get it approved, and so on, etc.

CT: In the previous interview you said that some students who went to UCT would eventually switch over to UWC and do extremely well. Why was that so?

FL: I think it has to do with the level of confidence. The students' academic confidence improved when they were out of that racially charged environment because, at that time, Black South Africans could but not feel inferior. There was just no way you could exert yourself, it was just built into the system and when those students came to us, immediately there is a change in self-esteem. They can identify with each other and with those teaching them, their role models, people who look like them are teaching them.

CT: Okay. So, UWC was for, as you say 'so-called Coloured South Africans', so you refer to everyone as Black. Do you not believe in the term Coloured as a race?

FL: I do not. It is a construct of a racial identity that was assigned to us by Whites as well, the cultural manifestations of this identity were manipulated to create a divide. I think it is unfortunate that we held on to those kinds of racial classifications and divisions. We had a wonderful opportunity in 1994 to get rid of it, and, unfortunately, that transformation did not include a transformation of the way we look at ourselves. I think it still explains why there is still racial tension between different groups and it's not only White and Black but different racial classifications. It's unfortunate, and I am also coming from a time in politics where we objected to the classification as Coloured. Although at UWC, we referred to ourselves as Black, we rejected the classification as Coloured. That caused many problems within families, with young UWC students and their parents. It was crazy.

CT: I think it is interesting, because the term was given and people just had no choice but to accept it. They tried to form their own identity within it and now there is this whole question of Coloured identity.

FL: Yes, it is a trend and [so] deeply entrenched that I think it is [...] almost impossible to get rid of it [now]. We had the opportunity to do it, but we did not take it. So, it is unfortunate.

CT: You had a special project in Elsie's River where you taught disadvantaged children piano. I am not sure if you still run this project or if someone else has taken over, but could you tell me more about it?

FL: The piano project was not in Elsie's River, but [...] at UCT, which I ran as part of my social responsiveness contribution, which the university requires us to do. I had a whole number of very talented young kids from disadvantaged communities. I taught most of them for free on Saturdays. It was never really a large group, but it was at most, sometimes, six. One of them ... I do not know if you know Eben Wagenstroom? [He] is finishing his doctoral degree at the University of Cincinnati and he is about to graduate. Rhiyaan Smith is now a medical student at Stellenbosch University and there is another student of mine that got a scholarship to go to Bishops. Then, I was not allowed to teach him anymore, because they don't allow outside teachers to teach. One went to the United States on a Fulbright scholarship. However, some of them did not follow through with music after matric, but they are in other areas. One became a chef. It was a wonderful experience for me; I brought several of them with me to Adamant. Eben was, for instance, with me at the Adamant Music School almost for six years in a row, when he was only 12, I think, or 14, he was 14 when he first went with me to Adamant and then others also attended. It was wonderful; I could not take on more than a handful, but then I never had a Saturday free for my entire stay in South Africa. The Elsie's River project is COMART and I served as a board member.

CT: When did you start the project?

FL: It started sort of in 2001, I think. It did not start immediately. I had a lot of press attention when I arrived, so people called me and they brought their kids to me and said, 'can you teach him please?', and they would offer to pay me, but I knew that they could not afford it, so I never took their money. The only rule I had is that they had to have access to a piano. So, I also worked with some churches in Elsie's River to make pianos available to some young kids. Once, I secured a donation of an upright piano from a Sea Point family for one of my students. When

I left Cape Town in 2018, I had only two students, it was very difficult to tell them that I was leaving and they were very sad.

CT: So, from 2001–2018, you did this project?

FL: Yes, that is correct.

CT: Okay, and then in 2004, I read that you started at the Adamant Music School. How long did you work here, or do you still work there?

FL: I was on the faculty for the first two years, 2004 and 2005. Then I became the Director of the programme in 2006 and I am still the Director to this day. Have been since then and this year will be the first year that we will not have a session because of the coronavirus crisis.

CT: In 2018, you left South Africa and UCT to work in the States, but I can't seem to find where you worked?

FL: I packed up without having a job. It was very stressful and terrifying. We settled in Minneapolis, in St Paul. I then started teaching at St Joseph's School of Music, which is the equivalent of the Hugo Lambrechts Centre or Frank Pietersen Music School. I was appointed as a visiting Professor at Gustavus Adolphus College St. Peter, Minnesota, in 2019, from January–April. Then I was appointed as Director of Music at Illinois Wesleyan University in July 2019, where I am now.

CT: Wow.

FL: The first year was very scary because I did not have a job.

CT: So, I mean, you do not have to answer, but why did you leave?

FL: Oh, it was for personal reasons, and also, I felt uncomfortable with the kind of violence around me on campus. I was threatened myself; we were thrown out of our building, we had stun grenades thrown [by police or security personnel] at a gathering of protesters who were in a building to get protesting students to disperse. It was very stressful and my husband also did not feel comfortable. He is a US Citizen and so we decided to come back.

CT: Were these the Fees Must Fall protests, 2015 and 2016?

FL: Correct, and it was quite intense at UCT; I did not see the same intensity at Stellenbosch, because I recalled going to Piano Symposium and was amazed that it was happening.

CT: In what year did you do your Secondary Teachers diploma at UWC?

FL: In 1982. So, I started as Junior Lecturer at UWC in 1983.

CT: So, in 1984 you were still a junior lecturer. Then, in 1985, you started lessons with Laura Searle.

FL: Correct, and then in 1986 I left for the USA.

CT: You said that your teacher at Cincinnati, Frank Weinstock, had the most significant influence on your playing and your career. Could you elaborate on this?

FL: Frank came from the Arthur Schnabel piano tradition and he [had] worked with Leon Fleischer, Claude Frank and a whole line of very powerful teachers and pianists. For the works of Beethoven, for instance, he was the perfect person for me to study within the USA. He was extremely supportive and understood what was happening in South Africa very well. He was very well-read, a fantastic teacher, and an outstanding pianist. So, he also moulded me into the pianist that I am now, in terms of me looking very carefully at scores, listening carefully to the sounds that I make and understanding how and why I want to make certain sounds. I was very disappointed that when Eben came to Cincinnati, I planned for him to work with Frank, but Frank [had] retired, unfortunately but he had a few lessons with Frank, and that was wonderful to see. Frank certainly was, he currently is my mentor, and he was a guest in South Africa while I was a director; he came over. I gave a recital and masterclass at Stellenbosch University and I took him there.

4.5 Biography of Sidwill Hartman

Sidwill Hartman's passing away in May 2019 forced me to find alternative sources of information, viz his partner, Martin Postmus his sister, Averille Walker and his close friend, Michael Kempen. Additionally, I also received information from Postmus in the form of newspaper and magazine articles, programmes, letters and financial statements which Hartman had kept throughout the years. The following sketch of his life and career is compiled from these various sources.

Sidwill Hartman was born on 15 April 1956 in District Six, Cape Town: a place where people were very jovial, danced and sang in the streets, and where he too joined in as a child (*Ode aan die Opera-era*, 2013). When Hartman was five years old, he was diagnosed with tuberculosis; he became very ill with pneumonia and underwent regular treatment, which eventually led to a full recovery. Hartman states: 'A little later in my childhood, while I was singing with my family, I realised I had the lungs to hold notes for a long time' (Schimke, 2005). At the age of 12 he joined the Cape Town Boys' Choir, started by David McAdam in 1956. In addition, he also sang in church and school choirs. When Hartman was 12, the Group Areas Act meant that he and his family could no longer live in District Six and had to relocate to Manenberg.

Hartman and his family were very active at church and he aspired towards a career in Ministry. His love for music was honed not only in his home but at church; he took organ lessons at church with Reginald Gouws (*Ode aan die Opera - era*, 2013). When Hartman was 17, he became a church organist. Later he conducted the choir at church; he and his family sang together regularly. According to Jilyan Pitman (1996), 'His musical family recalled the days when Sidwill's father Sidney played music for his children. "His love of music grew from there and *La Bohème*, *Madame Butterfly* and *La Traviata* were his favourites," said Sidney.' His three sisters Jennifer, Averille and Vida sang too. At the age of 15, his voice broke; when he was 16 years old, he and his sisters joined the EOAN group as members of the chorus. Here Hartman took singing lessons with Alessandro Rota. In 1975, when Hartman was 19 years old, the group took part in the International Festival of Youth Orchestras and Performing Arts in Aberdeen and London. While at the festival, Hartman completed a "crash course" in opera in London. In 1976, he attended the Cape Evangelical Bible Institute, where he studied for one and a half years. He received a Certificate in Biblical Studies afterwards and would have become a missionary if it hadn't been for the positive turn that his singing career took during this time.

In 1977, he sang with the Cape Town Light Operatic Ensemble and in 1978 he won the Friends of the Nico Malan Bursary. Hartman said a friend had applied on his behalf to the Friends of the Nico Malan Bursary competition and that he won the bursary against all expectations (Truter, 1995). The bursary enabled him to start his studies with Désirée Talbot at the University of Cape Town. She had a great influence on Hartman, and ‘at the time she was the one who really climbed into his technique... She gave his development a lot of structure and variety’ (Kempen, 2020). Hartman landed his big break when the University turned 150 years old in 1979. The Opera School's production for the year was Puccini's *La Bohème* and Hartman sang Rudolfo. The performance was a great success. In 1980 he became a permanent member of the CAPAB chorus. In 1981 Hartman performed Tamino in Mozart's *The Magic Flute* and in the same year he graduated with a Performer's Diploma in Opera. In 1982 he performed Werther in Massenet's *Werther* with the Opera School. In 1981 Hartman sang his professional lead debut in the role of Alfred in Strauss's *Die Fledermaus* in Port Elizabeth shortly after singing three smaller roles - Borsa in Verdi's *Rigoletto*, Trabucco in Verdi's *La Forza del Destino* and Beppe in Leoncavallo's *Pagliacci* - and a year later, in 1982, he sang the role of Ishmaele in Verdi's *Nabucco* for CAPAB which prompted his appointment as soloist in 1983. In an interview, Hartman states that,

If it wasn't for the early influences of my mother pushing me towards opera, I would probably have become a missionary. Early on in my career it was my sisters, Averille, Vida and Jennifer who kept my enthusiasm going when we sang at various events. Then it was Mrs Wendy Ackerman, who had faith in my abilities and assisted me in getting to Juilliard and who supported me tremendously through the struggling years in New York.²² (quote from unidentifiable source in Hartman's archive)

Hartman credits Gordon Jephtas, who coached and accompanied him whilst he was at the South African College of Music and in 1984 during his studies at the Juilliard. (*Ode aan die Opera-ers*, 2013) Postmus (2020) states that Hartman had said ‘Jephtas was like nothing he had ever seen before.’

In 1982, Sidwill and his sister Jennifer Hartman made their United States debut in Florida, followed by a six-week tour. In 1983 Hartman performed three small roles, viz. a young sailor in Wagner's *Tristan and Isolde*, Malcolm in Verdi's *Macbeth*, and again, Borsa in Verdi's

²² The source is titled, ‘Cape Town opera singer hits the big time in London’ and dated 23 January 1996.

Rigoletto. In the same year, he was accepted and granted a full scholarship at the American Opera Centre attached to the Juilliard School, as the first South African singer to receive this honour. As mentioned above, Hartman was sponsored by Mrs Wendy Ackerman. Whilst at Juilliard, Hartman performed frequently and received many performance opportunities from the institution. His teachers at the Juilliard School were Enrico Di Guisepppe and Simon Estes. In 1984 he sang with the University of New York in the opera *Tartuffe*. Whilst in America he sang at church; this remained one of his passions.²³ (Truter, 1995). In 1985, he returned to South Africa and was awarded the Grahamstown Standard Bank Young Artist Award. Hartman also performed in *Aida* as Radames with CAPAB. In 1986 he returned to South Africa and sang as a guest artist with CAPAB in *Cavalleria Rusticana* (Mascagni), *Gianni Schicchi* (Puccini) and *Der Rosenkavalier* (Richard Strauss). In 1987 Hartman was invited to join the Young Artists Program at the Juilliard American Opera Center.

Hartman performed a large number of operas throughout South Africa during the years 1986 to 1994, listed below:

Table 4.5.1

Opera	Role	Year Performed
<i>Aida</i> (Verdi)	Radames	1991 & 1993
<i>Carmen</i> (Bizet)	Don José	1989-1990
<i>Cavalleria Rusticana</i> (Mascagni)	Turiddu	1986 & 1993
<i>Don Carlos</i> (Verdi)	Don Carlos	1990
<i>Faust</i> (Gounod)	Faust	1994
<i>Fidelio</i> (Beethoven)	Jacquino	1990
<i>Die Fledermaus</i> (Strauss)	Alfred	1986 & 1989
<i>Der Fliegende Holländer</i> (Wagner)	Erik	1993
<i>Gianni Schicchi</i> (Puccini)	Rinuccio	1986
<i>Il Tabarro</i> (Puccini)	Luigi	1991
<i>Il Trovatore</i> (Verdi)	Manrico	1992
<i>Pagliacci</i> (Leoncavallo)	Canio	1993
<i>La Bohème</i> (Puccini)	Rudolfo	1990
<i>La Traviata</i> (Verdi)	Alfredo	1989 & 1994
<i>L'Elisir d'Amore</i> (Donizetti)	Nemorino	1990
<i>Madama Butterfly</i> (Puccini)	Pinkerton	1987, 1993 & 1994
<i>The Merry Widow</i> (Franz Lehár)	Camille	1992
<i>Salome</i> (Strauss)	Naraboth	1987
<i>Rigoletto</i> (Verdi)	Duke	1988 & 1993
<i>Der Rosenkavalier</i> (Strauss)	Italian Singer	1986 & 1991.
<i>Tosca</i> (Puccini)	Cavaradossi	1990-1992
<i>Turandot</i> (Puccini)	Calaf	1987

²³ “Een van sy groot vreugdes is om in kerke te sing. 'Dis waar my hart is. In Amerika het ek onlangs in 'n kerk gesing. Dit was stampvol en almal was in trane. Sulke waardering beteken vir my oneindig baie” Truter (1995).

<i>William Tell</i> (Rossini)	Arnoldo	1992
<i>Die Zauberflöte</i> (Mozart)	Tamino	1988 & 1991

It is evident that he was hardworking, committed and dedicated to his artistry. Postmus (2020) recalls a time when Hartman had to learn an opera in ten days due to an overseas opera singer cancelling; the performance which took place in Pretoria was a major success.

In 1991 Hartman was awarded the Nederburg Prize for Opera and the Friends of the Nico Malan Opera Award for the “Opera singer of the year.” In 1992 Hartman completed a successful European audition tour; in the same year, on the 30th April, he had his debut performance in Nantes, France, in *Carmen* as Don José. Subsequently Hartman had many performances in South Africa with the Cape Performing Arts Board (CAPAB), the Performing Arts Council of the Transvaal (PACT), the Natal Performing Arts Council (NAPAC) and the Performing Arts Council of the Orange Free State (PACOFs). The country underwent many changes in the early 90s before the end of apartheid, and although Hartman performed throughout the country during this time, the situation was not always welcoming. When he performed with NAPAC in Durban, he checked into the hotel room which NAPAC's management had booked for him. The same evening, he was thrown out of his room because of the colour of his skin. The incident was recounted as follows by Michael Kempen:

They always hid behind that line ‘right of admission reserved’, so that the hotel had the right to admit whom it wanted to... Sidwill had arrived and checked in and then was later asked to leave. He never gave me more details than that, but he said it was done in an extremely unpleasant and very hurtful way. It was done very coldly, matter-of-factly. There was no apology, and he said he felt absolutely dreadful (Kempen, 2020).

Hartman would often decline overseas performances in order to honour his commitments in South Africa. “I have never cancelled a performance. I am known in the business as a consistent and reliable singer” (Michael Arendse, 2001). However, he had to deal with being underpaid in South Africa. On one occasion when he was about to perform the role of Radames in *Aida* with Pacofs, ‘the role in *Aida* for which he [had] won the Nederburg Opera Award in Cape Town... it [hurt] when Pacofs refused to pay him a third of what it was prepared to pay an ageing overseas singer in *Aida*’ (Coenraad Visser, 1994). This was not the first time Hartman had been underpaid in South Africa.

In 1994 he returned to France to perform Rudolfo in *La Bohème*. In 1995 he was awarded the First National Bank Vita Opera Award for the ‘most outstanding performance.’ In 1996 he performed Canio (*Pagliacci*) in Caen (France). In the same year, he had his British debut at Covent Garden, where he performed as Radames (*Aida*). This performance was a great success and met with a standing ovation. The reviews after his Covent Garden debut were in his favour. Ingo Capraro wrote the review article titled, ‘*Ovasies vir Kaapse tenoor se debuut in Covent Garden.*’ Capraro includes London reviews in the article and clarifies that Covent Garden reviewers are not scared to let artists know what they think of their performances. ‘The previous South African who sang here, Johan Botha was less than enthusiastically received.’ (Capraro, 1996). Hartman was praised for his ability to hold notes and sing softly, ‘he ended the Celeste Aida with a high B flat which faded slowly to nothing’ Capraro (1996). Another opera reviewer, Richard Fairman stated that Hartman ‘sings with precision of rhythm and clear pronunciation.’ However, there were also certain aspects reviewers thought Hartman could work on to enhance his performances further. *The London Times* praised Hartman but according to Capraro (1996), ‘a little more vibrato might help his tone to sit squarely in the middle of the notes.’ Thereafter, he returned to St Etienne, France, to perform Ricardo in Verdi’s *Un Ballo in Maschera*.

Hartman made his debut in Cologne in the 1996/1997 opera season, in the roles of Pinkerton (*Madama Butterfly*) and Radames (*Aida*). In June 1996 he performed Prince Calaf in *Turandot* with Opera Nice, followed by Verdi’s *Requiem* at the “Sacred Music Festival.” After that, he performed the Schöne Herr Hermann in the new production of Hindemith’s *Neues vom Tage*. In May 1997 he performed Verdi’s *Requiem* in Bonn. Hartman’s debuts in different cities throughout Germany continued. In 1997 he made his debut in Copenhagen as Radames (*Aida*), thereafter he performed Szymanowski’s *Der Hirte* in *König Roger* in Stuttgart. In 1998 Hartman performed Edgardo in a concert version of Donizetti’s *Lucia di Lammermoor* in “Fest der schönen Stimmen” in Cologne. In the same year he had various engagements at the Cologne Opera House, where he performed *La Bohème*, *Aida*, *Madama Butterfly*, and *Tosca*. In March 1998 Hartman made his debut at the Deutsche Oper in Berlin as Radames in *Aida*; he returned in November as Cavaradossi in *Tosca*.

It was clear that the more Hartman performed in Europe, the more in demand he became. According to Suzette Truter (1998:32), ‘he has a group of enthusiastic fans that tours wherever he performs.’ Hartman’s schedule was so full that he could not always perform where he wanted to: ‘La Scala wanted me three times already, but I had something on each time’

(Arendse, 2001:11). Although Hartman had a very busy schedule, he returned to South Africa throughout this time: in 1998 he performed Hoffman in *Les Contes d'Hoffman* (Jacques Offenbach) in Cape Town. According to Truter (1998: 32), 'it's just a pity that there are so few opportunities in South Africa, because his heart lies here.' In an interview with Coenraad Visser which was published in the *Mail & Guardian* (1994), Hartman was described as a patriarch to his country similar to the role he was performing at the time, Radames from Verdi's *Aida*.

In 1999, he made his debut at the Bayerische Staatsoper in Munich, performing Radames in *Aida*. In the same year Hartman had opera performances in Cologne and Berlin. In the 2000/2001 opera season Hartman had a similarly busy opera schedule in Europe. In the 2002/2003 opera season, Hartman had a loaded schedule in Europe again but returned to South Africa for opera performances. In 2002 Hartman was diagnosed with diabetes and high blood pressure. He suffered a diabetic stroke and cancelled a performance, for the first time in his career (Postmus, 2020). Owing to his health, Hartman scaled down on his overseas performances. In 2004 he was appointed as Associate Professor at the University of Cape Town. In the same year, he was honoured by the Western Cape Provincial Government for his contribution to the performing arts in South Africa. While embarking on his professorship, Hartman remained active in his opera engagements overseas. He continued to perform in South Africa. On the 7th of May 2019 he had a heart attack while teaching a class at the University of Cape Town and passed away. At the time of his passing, Hartman was the acting head of the Vocal Studies at the University of Cape Town.

4.6 Biography of George Stevens

The youngest of the group of musicians whose careers I am investigating, George Stevens, passed away before the commencement of my research project, thus precluding an interview with him. I compensated by interviewing his brother, Paul Stevens, as well as his friend, Michael Arendse. The information they provided is as close and authentic as it can be under these circumstances. I present some of it verbatim but most of it is in the form of a summary.

Cecil George Stevens, known professionally as George Stevens was born on 20th November 1966. The Stevens family resided in Heathfield on the Cape Flats. At a young age, Stevens showed a keen interest in performance and singing. His brother Paul remembers that Stevens performed in the annual variety concerts at primary school and high school. ‘He grew up on Nat King Cole and at that point they were recording CDs at church, I think this was in the 1980s’ (Stevens, 2020).

Stevens’s, mother, Lydia Stevens was a singer too, and had been a member of the EOAN chorus. Stevens’s career began when Vetta Wise spotted him singing at a Solidarity Choral Concert in the New Apostolic Church in Retreat. Wise directed the Philharmonia Choir at the time and asked Stevens to perform as a soloist with the choir. Stevens’s, first performance with the Philharmonia Choir was in Mozart’s *Requiem*. Subsequently he started private singing lessons with Nellie du Toit. He then began to perform in choral works on a regular basis. He took part in performances of the *St. John* and *St. Matthew Passions* and Faure’s *Requiem* at the St. George’s Cathedral. In 1989, Stevens joined the CAPAB chorus as an *ad hoc* member, while holding a full-time job as a car part salesman. His first opportunity to perform a professional opera role arose in 1992. It was that of Selim in Rossini’s *Il Turco in Italia*. He was the understudy for Don Garrod, who happened to be indisposed during one of the performances and Stevens had to stand in. After this very successful debut he began to perform all over South Africa; he had to leave his full-time job as his schedule became very busy.

Thereafter, in 1993, he had masterclasses with Wicus Slabbert, and started lessons with Professor Josef Metternich, in Germany. In the same year he made his European opera debut at the Bavarian State Opera. In the years 1994 to 1998, according to Arendse (2018), ‘over a number of years, Stevens worked as guest soloist in Europe and South Africa, where he performed the entire classical repertoire in his fach (a system of classifying singers according to the range, weight and colour of their voices.)’ Stevens performed in the Deutsches Nationaltheater in Weimar, at the Saarländisches Staatstheater Saarbrücken were performed in

Verdi's *Requiem* and in Cape Town. He also performed in the European cities of Hanover, Moscow, Vienna, Düsseldorf, Munich and Trondheim.

In 1998, he became the principal soloist as an Italian baritone in the opera division of Theater Bremen, he remained there till 2006. His opera performances were the following²⁴:

Table 4.6.1

Opera and Composer	Role	Year performed	Theatre
Le Nozze di Figaro (Mozart)	Figaro	1999 2002, 2005, 2006 2008 2008	Theater Bremen Theater Bremen Ponte de Lima, Portugal Theater Bremen
Joseph Süß (Detlev Glanert)	Joseph Süß	1999	Theater Bremen
Don Giovanni (Mozart)	Leporello	2000 & 2010	Theater Bremen
Pique Dame (Tchaikovsky)	Graf Tomski/ Zlatoger	2001-2002, 2005 & 2007	Theater Bremen
Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Magagonny (Kurt Weill)	Sparbüchsenbill	2001-2002	Theater Bremen
Satyrioan (Bruno Maderna)	Eumolpus	2001-2002	Theater Bremen
Carmen (Bizet)	Escamillo	2002, 2005 & 2006	Theater Bremen
La Bohème (Puccini)	Marcello	2002, 2004 & 2006	Theater Bremen
Aida (Verdi)	Amonsaro	2002 & 2009	Theater Bremen
Die Tote Stadt (Korngold)	Frank	2002	Theater Bremen
Il Barbiere di Siviglia (Rossini)	Figaro	2003	Theater Bremen
Il Trovatore (Verdi)	(No role is stated on the website)	2003-2004	Theater Bremen
The Greek Passion (Bohuslav Martinů)	The Captain	2004	Theater Bremen

²⁴ The following performances were found on an Opera base website. (George Stevens, Bass baritone, 2013).

Der Kaiser von Atlantis (Viktor Ullman)	Kaiser Overall	2004	Theater Bremen
Die lustige Witwe (Franz Lehár)	Graf Danilo Danilowitsch	2005-2006	Theater Bremen
Rigoletto (Verdi)	(No role is stated on the website)	2005-2006	Theater Bremen
A Midsummer Night's Dream (Mendelssohn)	Demetrius	2006 & 2007	Theater Bremen
Don Quixote	(No role is stated on the website)	2006 & 2007	Theater Bremen
Les Contes d'Hoffmann (Jacques Offenbach)	(No role is stated on the website)	2006-2007	Theater Bremen
La vie Parisienne (Jacques Offenbach)	Brasilianer	2006-2007	Theater Bremen
La forza del destino (Verdi)	Don Carlos di Vargas	2007	Theater Bremen
Un ballo in Maschera (Jules Massenet)	Renato	2008	Augsburg, Germany
Manon Lescaut (Puccini)	Lescaut	2008 – 2009	Staatstheater Braunschweig
Otello (Verdi)	Jago	2009 2013	Staatstheater Braunschweig Cape Town Opera
Simon Boccanegra (Verdi)	Simon Boccanegra	2009-2010	Staatstheater Braunschweig
Eugen Onegin (Tchaikovsky)	Eugen Onegin	2009-2010	Staatstheater Braunschweig
La Traviata (Verdi)	George Germont	2010 2011 2012-2013 2013	Theater Bremen Cape Town Opera Komische Oper Berlin Staatstheater Braunschweig
Der Rosenkavalier (Strauss)	Herr von Faninal	2010	Theater Bremen
A kékszakállú herceg vára (Bartok)	A kékszakállú herceg	2012	Theater Bremen
Tosca (Puccini)	Baron Scarpia	2012	Theater Bremen

Arendse (2018) states that Stevens ‘was considered by some European critics as one of the finest Verdi singers of his time.’

In addition to the vast number of performances Stevens did, according to Arendse (2018), ‘the theater Bremen awarded him the Kurt-Hübner Prize for ‘most convincing singer and actor with extraordinary stage presence.’ Arendse (2018) adds that in 2007, after leaving Bremen, ‘Stevens launched his international freelance career.’ In addition to performances at the Theater Bremen, Stevens performed at Cape Town Opera, at the Staatstheater Braunschweig, Opera Festival in Macerata, Rome, Saarländisches Staatstheater Saarbrücken and Royal Opera Copenhagen, Moscow, Vienna, Portugal, Berlin, Stuttgart and Norway. Another noteworthy performance by Stevens is that he sang in Verdi’s *Requiem* with the London Bach Choir and Sir David Wilcox as the conductor (Arendse, 2018).

At the end of 2013 Stevens returned to Cape Town, and in February 2014 he took up the post as senior voice lecturer at the University of Cape Town. Stevens made a great impact on all his students, and according to Arendse (2018), ‘he celebrated everybody’s successes, no matter how small. As a teacher, he always wanted his students to be the best versions of themselves.’ He became the acting director of the Opera School at the University of Cape Town, in October 2016. In this capacity he made changes to the annual Kaleidoscope concert which takes place in May and in which all opera students participate (Arendse, 2020). He also sought to create financial support for students at the Opera School through a scholarship fund, aiming to raise R20 million. After his death the fund continued. In 2019, the first George Stevens Bursary was awarded to Fanele Mkhwanazi.²⁵

Besides Stevens’s work in the opera world and at the University of Cape Town, he was active in community work. He was part of the UrSlam Factor, which was a talent competition that took place in July 2017. The project aimed to make a difference in Pollsmoor prisoners' lives through the performing arts. It was run by Women Taking Action NPC in partnership with Pollsmoor Correctional Services. ‘UrSlam Factor was held to uplift offenders and to assist in the rehabilitation process’ (Women Taking Action, 2016). At the project, he trained and worked with prisoners, and at the finale of the competition he performed with one singer. At one point in the competition the prisoners needed to go to their parents and apologise for their crimes (Stevens, 2020).

²⁵ This information was taken from the following website, <http://george-stevens.com/en/contact/george-stevens-bursary> (accessed on 3 February 2021).

Shirley Paulse (Chairperson of Women Taking Action NPC) wrote the following in her testimonial to George Stevens:

Throughout the competition Mr. Stevens selflessly and patiently gave of his time to attend Pollsmoor for training and was often moved to tears at the level of talent and the dire circumstances from whence so many offenders came. Mr Stevens showed his authenticity through the special bonds he formed with his protégés and his ability to unwittingly go beyond what was expected of him. He would often be seen requesting permission from prison officials to deliver toiletries, music, or items of clothing for the participants. Never once expecting any recognition for the calibre of work that he so naturally delivered (Paulse, 2017).

Besides his passion for his students, performing, and community work, he also explored other musical interests. He learnt and became passionate about playing the natural horn: ‘by exploring and getting familiar with the natural horn literature and the horn community in Cape Town, he discovered that natural horn playing was not very common in South Africa’²⁶ He formed a group of horn players, ‘the funting horns (the Funters are Brent Patterson, Frances Coetzer, Clinton Muller, and Gene Kierman.’²⁷

On 11 August 2018, Stevens was undergoing surgery when he passed away at 51. His legacy continues at the Opera School of the South African College of Music where his larger-than-life presence, his example and reputation as an internationally acclaimed singer and his selfless endeavours to create funding opportunities for his students will be a lasting memory.

²⁶ This information was found on the following website that does not supply the name of the author; <http://george-stevens.com/en/about-2/passions/> (accessed on 6 January 2021).

²⁷ <http://george-stevens.com/en/about-2/passions/> (accessed on 6 January 2021).

5. Conclusion

This study has presented case studies of performing Coloured musicians during the apartheid era some of whom broke through the first racial barriers in the Western Cape and South Africa. The outcome of the literature review (Chapter 2) showed that research has been done on the musical culture of the Coloured community, but a minimum has focused on Coloured musicians, and the majority of the information available is of a journalistic nature. Thus, this study has aimed to fill a gap and contribute to the music history of our country. This chapter serves to draw together the most important lines to have emerged from the various interviews, be there similarities or differences. Priority will be given to their education, early successes as performers and their early careers.

5.1 Early music tuition of participants

The following similarities and differences were found from the case studies.^{28,29} John Theodore and Leon Bosch both had their initial music training from nuns. Theodore²⁸ took lessons at the Holy Cross Convent in Oudtshoorn from the age of nine years. For Bosch's²⁸ lessons a nun drove to Bishop Lavis, when he started cello at the age of nine. Franklin Larey²⁸ started lessons late, due to unwillingness by two White teachers in Malmesbury to teach him owing to his race. He took lessons with his neighbour Alden April when he was 16 years old. Sidwill Hartman²⁹ sang at church and in the Cape Town Boys Choir. He had voice lessons when he joined EOAN at 16 years old. Hartman had lessons with Alessandro Rota. Michele Williams²⁸ is the exception: her father had a Moravian brass band, and he himself played violin; she had her initial training from Herman Becker, who had a music school. However, she could not have lessons at the institution due to the racial laws of the time and had lessons at his home. George Stevens²⁹ was discovered by Vetta Wise at the New Apostolic Church; his first vocal teacher was Wendy Fine. Racial laws at the time placed a significant number of barriers in his career, and this situation continued in the years to follow.

The interviews showed that sometimes a change of music teachers characterised the early phases of the young musicians' training. Theodore remained at the convent throughout his schooling; on the other hand, Bosch's parents managed to find him another cello teacher, Edna Elphick. Williams took lessons with Herman Becker until she was 12 years old until Becker

²⁸ This information comes from interviews done with each participant. Due to the national lockdown each interview had to be done with the use of Skype, Zoom or WhatsApp video call.

²⁹ In the event of passing of a participant, family members or friends were interviewed with the use of Skype, Zoom or WhatsApp video call.

moved and Williams started lessons with Neil McKay. Although Neil McKay worked at the University of Port Elizabeth, Williams could not have lessons there due to the racial laws, so that she had to have lessons at his home instead. Unfortunately, McKay passed away four years later, after which she started lessons with Prof. Jack de Wet. Larey continued lessons with April for six months. April was self-taught and made arrangements for Larey to start lessons with Gideon Slingers. Larey remained with him until he matriculated. Stevens had lessons with Nellie du Toit.

5.1.1 Performances in the early years

The various interviews revealed quite unique cases regarding early performances during the apartheid era. Theodore had his first performance at five years old - he could already play tunes by ear. He and his brothers performed regularly in local talent contests. In addition to this, he regularly accompanied community choirs, school choirs and his church choir. Whilst Williams was having lessons with Neil McKay, she got to play with the Municipal Orchestra in Port Elizabeth. When the orchestra used the Feather Market Hall, Williams required a permit to attend and perform there because of her race. She performed as a member of the orchestra. Furthermore, Williams regularly participated in eisteddfods at primary and high school. Meanwhile, Hartman performed as a member of the Cape Town Boys' Choir. Bosch joined the UCT youth string orchestras which was run by Noel Travers, who made the necessary arrangements for permits to allow for Bosch to travel with the ensemble. Stevens performed regularly at school variety concerts and would often sing Nat King Cole songs.

A few of the respondents did external examinations. Theodore completed all the Trinity graded music exams as well as his Associateship Diploma (ATCL) in his matric year at school. Williams completed all the Associated Board of Royal School of Music (ABRSM) practical examinations. Larey worked through all the ABRSM books with Slingers. Many participants were encouraged by their teachers to do external examinations and later they considered a career in music. In addition to these the musicians performed and attended performances where they could. All respondents were subjected to the racial laws in this regard. Performances were segregated for audiences of different races. If Coloured persons wanted to watch a performance, they had to have a permit approved, they could only sit in a certain row (usually the last two rows) and were not allowed to interact with White audience members or use the same lavatory as White people. According to Scher (2014:331), 'the outcome of the Separate Amenities Act of 1953 and its amendments was the implementation of "petty" apartheid... notice boards in public places such as halls, post offices, and restrooms typically read: "Counter

for non-whites”; “Entrance for delivery boys”; “Queue for non-white servants”; or “whites only”. Larey did not attend performances due to the discrimination people of colour had to face at these events. Similarly, in Oudtshoorn, Theodore had to watch a performance in a projector room and had to peep through the projector holes. Williams was allowed to invite two family members to the Municipal Orchestra’s performance at Feather Market Hall. They had to apply for a permit and before the concert started, authorities in charge checked that they sat in the right seats and checked their permits. Although the participants experienced this very hurtful discrimination, they continued taking lessons.

5.1.2 Class Music

At school, some of the musicians were exposed to music in the form of singing. As participants George Stevens and Sidwill Hartman had passed away, I could ask only John Theodore, Franklin Larey, Michele Williams and Leon Bosch about class music. In addition to class music all participants took instrumental and music theory lessons. The latter tuition was usually understood to be in the form of lessons with private music teachers. It is important to note that this is not necessarily representative of all schools in the country; simply the situation at the school participants attended. In order to be eligible to study music at university, it was usually required that students have music as a subject in matric. Not all school offered this option, and this was not possible for all the participants as seen below. The absence of subject music and music teachers in their desired instrument led them to continue with private music tuition under circumstances that were not always easy. Class music tuition in high school became available only in one instance which is mentioned below. When students eventually got to the University of Cape Town, the following took place according to Franklin Lewis³⁰ (2020): ‘the handful of Coloured students (there were no Black African students at the college) ...we had to do bridging or elementary courses in music content that we had supposedly not covered before.’

Rijsdek (2003:22) describes the general situation of class music as follows: ‘The Cape Province class music was allocated one fifteen to twenty minutes period per day in the sub-standards while the standards ranged... to one hour per week in Standards Three to Five.’ Unfortunately, at most schools’ teachers were not properly trained, Rijsdek (2003:22) states that ‘Class music tuition led to music teachers leading mass singing sessions. In the majority of coloured and black schools class music periods were utilised for other subjects or activities.’

³⁰ Franklin Lewis was a music student at the University of Cape Town from 1973- 1976. (Lewis and Wasserman, 2020: 6).

The case studies presented the following regarding class music. John Theodore stated that at primary school, he had class singing, which he enjoyed very much, but this was a non-exam subject. At school they sang songs from various genres, and some ‘with occasional reference to notation (mostly tonic-solfa singing and sometimes with reference to the staff).’ This continued at high school. He states that once he started Music Education at the University of Cape Town, he realised that the Department of Coloured Affairs did have a syllabus for Class Music, however, he states, ‘this was generally inadequately addressed by teachers especially as they lacked theoretical knowledge and skills.’

Likewise, Theodore did Music as a subject at high school. However, there was great difficulty before he or any other student who wished to pursue Music as a subject at his school, could do so. His friend Johann Buis, who took lessons at the Holy Cross Convent where Theodore took lessons, could no longer take lessons there. The rule by Mother Provincial was that once they reached a certain age, they could no longer take lessons at the convent. Buis states that, “first five white teachers refused to take me as their student...The rule by Mother Provincial was reversed due to my father’s unsuccessful search for a music teacher” (Buis, 2020).

Johann Buis was the first pupil at Mōrester High to do Music as a subject in standard nine after his father had fought for six years with the Department of Coloured Affairs to allow him to take Music as a subject. Buis’ father kept fighting as there was uncertainty around the university accepting Trinity exams and only accepting UNISA practical exams. Consequently, certain prerequisites were imposed. Buis had to drop a subject as he was allowed to do only six subjects, and his parents had to pay the teacher and buy any books or materials that he required. The same conditions applied to Theodore when he took Music as a subject a year later. Theodore states that they had to attend ‘afternoon subject Music lessons.’ Buis studied music at the University of Cape Town.

Leon Bosch had class music as a subject at primary school. He states that, ‘the primary school experience was absolutely critical to my subsequent path in music.’ At the high school Bosch attended there was no class music. On the other hand, Franklin Larey did not have class music as a subject at primary school nor high school, but he was a member of the choir in primary school. Michele Williams had class music as a subject at primary school and high school.

The case studies present that the class music situation was not adequate and forced the musicians to take instrumental lessons privately. In a nutshell, the class music situation is as Rijsdek presents, ‘mass singing sessions.’ In other instances, as presented above, there was no

class music. This did not halt these musicians; many of them continued in their pursuit. They excelled in their instruments and later it was clear that they should study music. For each a career in music was an option but never an official prospect. For many, it took a supportive environment to finally help them make the decision to pursue their passion.

5.1.3 Music at Universities

In 1969, according to statistics presented by Horrel three Coloured students were enrolled for a BMus degree at the University of Cape Town. In 1959, the Extension of the University Act, No.41 came into place. This meant that open universities were no longer open. Coloured people needed special permission to attend these universities, for which they had to apply at the Department of Coloured Affairs. Once the University College of the Western Cape opened in 1960, Coloured people could only apply for a permit to attend a previously open University if the University College of the Western Cape did not offer that course. In the case of music, the University of the Western Cape offered only a BA degree where students could take Music and another major. Most of the respondents wished to follow a career in performance but realized that they would not be able to follow a career in this path in South Africa. This resulted in the majority specialising in Education. The University of the Western Cape having opened only in 1960, had a relatively small Music Department in comparison to the University of Cape Town. At the time when Williams was studying the Music Department of the University of the Western Cape did not even have a violin lecturer.

The case studies presented a number of similarities in terms of university education but differences as well. John Theodore, Michele Williams, and Leon Bosch studied music at the University of Cape Town. Theodore and Williams enrolled in 1974 and Bosch and Hartman in 1978. Theodore studied piano with Neil Solomon and Williams studied violin with Noel Travers, Peter Carter and Heinz Czech. Bosch first enrolled as a cellist, which he studied with Edna Elphick and Allan Stephenson and at the end of his first year he switched to double bass, with the teachers Zoltan Kovats and Max Runge. Sidwill Hartman took voice lessons with Désirée Talbot. Despite being enrolled as a student at the university, their permits had to be renewed each year.

In some cases, funding for university studies presented difficulties for the musicians. In 1978 Hartman was awarded the Friends of Nico Malan Bursary which enabled him to start his studies at the University of Cape Town. However, in 1981 he had to apply for a study loan. Theodore's father applied for a teacher's loan from the Department of Coloured Affairs, but his son's excellent results allowed him to apply for bursaries which covered his study fees. Nonetheless

in other instances, application to the University of Cape Town was not possible as the fees were too high.

The environment at the University of Cape Town was hostile towards Coloured students. They were prohibited by law from staying in university residences, which left them the option of either commuting to university or finding private accommodation. Theodore stayed with family in Zonnebloem, and Williams lived with family in Cape Town and travelled by car. Bosch travelled by train from Lavistown and Hartman travelled by train from Manenberg. In accordance with the Separate Amenities Act, transport was segregated. At university classes were not segregated, Coloured students could move around freely at the College of Music.

5.1.4 Performances at university and other performance opportunities

Occasionally the musicians were presented with performance opportunities. For Williams and Bosch string ensembles and orchestras were crucial to their development as musicians. Theodore performed at a studio class, after which he felt affirmed at the College of Music. A similarity that occurred with each participant at UCT was that their practical teachers presented them with performance opportunities. Leon Bosch's teacher Zoltan Kovats let him play as an extra with the Cape Town Symphony Orchestra and John Theodore's teacher, Neil Solomon, presented him and another student a recital opportunity and invited the orchestra manager to listen to Theodore. This resulted in concerto performance with the orchestra in 1978. Theodore was the first Coloured musician to perform a concerto with the Cape Town Symphony Orchestra in 1978.

As previously mentioned, the Separate Amenities Act stipulated that public facilities were separated on a racial basis. 'After the 1974 election, circumstances became difficult for the Vorster government. Demands for internal reform put apartheid under growing pressure' (Du Pisani, 2014:358).

An interdepartmental cabinet committee gave attention to the elimination of "unnecessary" discrimination... A move was made to open certain amenities such as hotels, restaurants, and theatres to all population groups. Differences of opinion within the NP between conservatives and reformists led to ongoing controversy, for example over the opening of the Nico Malan theatre in Cape Town; the changing policy on sport; and the so-called coloured policy (Du Pisani, 2014:359)

The Nico Malan theatre, built at a cost of R12 000 000, opened in Cape Town on the 19th of May 1971. The theatre was open only for White musicians to attend and perform. In order to

be separate but equal a theatre was built in Athlone for Coloured people. The Joseph Stone Auditorium, built for a total of R287 000, was inaugurated on the 21 November 1969 (Roos, 2010).

The Cape Performing Arts Board (CAPAB), as one of four performing arts councils in South Africa, promoted the performing arts in Cape Town. The other councils were the Performing Arts Council of the Transvaal (PACT), the Performing Arts Council of the Orange Free State (PACOFs) and the Natal Performing Arts Council (NAPAC). As previously mentioned, if Coloured people wanted to attend a performance in the Cape Town City Hall, they had to apply for a permit and the last two rows were reserved for them. On 27th of February 1975 the Cape Town City Mayor, David Bloomberg, announced that Symphony concerts were open to all races. This announcement was met with a ‘prolonged applause’ from the audience. However, in his statement, Mr Bloomberg refers only to Coloured people; there is no mention of Black people. Bloomberg’s statement was reported verbatim in the *Cape Argus*:

From the time that the Cape Town City Hall was opened in 1905 Coloured people enjoyed the right of attending performances in the grand hall without any form of discrimination. This situation persisted for 60 years until by reason of Proclamation 126 of February 12, 1965, as amended by Notice 127 of June 11, 1965, the grand hall was restricted to occupation by the White group. In terms of a permit dated February 18, 1965 the Department of Community Development authorised for orchestral performances by the Cape Town Symphony Orchestra only, the setting aside of 24 seats for the occupation by the Coloured group, provided a separate entrance to the City Hall and separate toilet facilities were provided, and there was no mingling of races (Cape Argus, 22.2.1975).

At the end of the article, it states that the City Hall is now open to all races. According to Bloomberg (2014:85), ‘all apartheid signs were removed the same day.’ Although this announcement was met with applause, it cannot be assumed that everyone was happy about this change. Likewise, the concert on 28 February 1975 did not attract a multiracial audience: generally, the same Coloured audience members attended concerts. In another article, regular Coloured concert-goers gave their opinion on this change. Some sat closer to the orchestra while many still refrained and remained in their ‘old seats’. A regular Coloured concert-goer, Mr Keith Adams gave his opinion: ‘Things don’t really seem any different to me. It just means that I can sit closer to the orchestra now. Although this is a good thing for race relations,’ he said.’ Some changes were still met with great resistance as many petty-apartheid laws still

remained in place, for example segregated restaurants, hotels, queues, and transport. The arts scene did not open entirely, certain venues and events still remained segregated. Consequently, many people of colour decided rather not to attend these events.

In August 1975 Sidwill Hartman travelled with the EOAN group to the International Festival of Youth Orchestras and Performing Arts in Aberdeen, Scotland, and London. Two groups from South Africa participated, the EOAN and the South African National Youth Orchestra. The youth orchestra included only White people in South Africa. The purpose of the festival was,

To bring together with a common cultural purpose youth from different countries, varying socio- economic backgrounds, different religions, races and colours, and with varied political ideologies; and to encourage a harmonious, co-operative and creative period of living together, with music and the performing arts as the common interest and motivation (The International Festival of Youth Orchestras and Performing Arts 1975, 1975:7).

The purpose and aim of the festival went against what apartheid meant, aiming to bring people of different races together, by means of music. Whilst the groups (EOAN and the South African National Youth Orchestra) were performing, anti-apartheid demonstrations took place outside the venue (Roos, 2010). It is interesting to note that not less than a year later a very important event took place.

In 1976, 16 June the Soweto uprising took place, in reaction to the proclamation of the use of Afrikaans in schools. The protest was met with police brutality and later students protested against the oppressive apartheid state. The student protest had placed significant international pressure on the country. In September 1976 marches took place in Cape Town which were also arranged by students. Leon Bosch, who attended Salt River High School and was a member of the Student Representative Council, was arrested for his role and participation in the event with nine other students a month later. Theodore and Williams wore black armbands along with other Coloured students at the College of Music. Students were asked to remove these symbols of support as it intimidated the other students. The Department of Coloured Affairs had warned Coloured students against instigating political uprising at the College of Music. The pressure from outside the country grew, according to Du Pisani (2014:368), until 'in 1977 the UN security council had imposed a mandatory arms embargo on South Africa; for the first time this was not vetoed by its Western members.' This was only the start of sanctions; many came

in the years to follow. The situation in the country did result in some overseas musicians refusing to perform in certain parts of the country. Vladimir Ashkenazy, prodigious pianist, virtuoso, and conductor refused to perform for a White only audience in South Africa. According to Correira (1976), 'PACT (Performing Arts Council of the Transvaal) has refused to have mixed audiences for the proposed visit [the] next year of the international piano virtuoso, Vladimir Ashkenazy.' At first, Ashkenazy did not want to come to South Africa at all, however according to Correira (1976), 'PACT ... destroyed in one fell swoop all the good work done overseas by Benito Moni, general manager of the Cape Town Symphony Orchestra, who persuaded Ashkenazy, who was first against visiting South Africa, to come and see for himself.'

As the country encountered increasing international pressure and sanctions, some changes started occurring. In other words, opportunities started opening up for musicians of colour that they would never have been presented with within South Africa previously owing to racial laws. In 1976 Williams auditioned successfully to play for the orchestra as an *ad hoc* member. 'Mr Benito Moni, manager of the orchestra, said Michele had been recommended by the College of Music. She had auditioned in the normal way and had been accepted on probation... But if she settles down with the orchestra there is no reason why she should not become a regular member.' (Violinist, 22, fulfils her dream, 1976). Williams made history as the first Coloured person and woman to be employed as a member of the Cape Town Symphony Orchestra. In 1977 Williams, along with other students of colour were invited to participate in the National Youth Orchestra course in Johannesburg. Prior to 1976, Williams had applied to the South African National Youth Orchestra course four times and had her applications rejected. In 1977, she did not apply but was invited to participate. On 2nd April 1978 John Theodore performed the Grieg Piano Concerto in A minor with the Cape Town Symphony Orchestra. Before Theodore a Coloured musician from South Africa had not performed as a soloist with the Cape Town Symphony Orchestra. This was a big moment,

The long, loud and widespread applause after the first movement was a great pity. Enthusiasm can be understood, coupled with the fact that many listeners were unfamiliar with concert custom: but there were many also who certainly knew better, and who ignorantly failed to realise that the silences between movements are part of a composer's desired effect. (Wise, 1978)

It is unfortunate that Wise failed to recollect this moment as such, it is also unfortunate how he refers to the audience who I assume were more 'out of the ordinary' than the regular concert-

goers for him. Representation is important in all spheres of life, as people need to see people who look like them doing and achieving things society would have deemed abnormal for them. Theodore's debut at the City Hall was well received, as was previously mentioned in Chapter 2. The conductor was so impressed with Theodore that he invited him to perform the work with the National Symphony Orchestra in Johannesburg.

At the University of the Western Cape, Larey performed regularly at performance classes. However, the music students refrained from engaging in outside performances, such as performing for their community or White communities due to the political struggle at the time. In 1980, the first time the SABC competition had been opened to all races, Theodore was a finalist. In the same year, he won the Oude Meester Prize from the University of Stellenbosch Jubilee Competition. In 1981, Theodore was awarded the Five Roses Young Artist Award, which resulted in a number of performances all over the country. In 1982, he won the SABC competition, as the first musician of colour to do so. Hartman performed regularly with the University of Cape Town Opera School. In 1979, when the University turned 150, Hartman played Rodolfo in Puccini's *La Bohème*, and his performance was well-received by the public. Before graduating he played Werther in Massenet's *Werther*. In 1980, Hartman was offered a permanent post as a part of the chorus at the CAPAB Opera. In the same year, Williams was offered a permanent post as a violinist in the Cape Town Symphony Orchestra - the first Coloured musician to be offered this appointment.

In the 1980s more performance opportunities opened up to musicians of colour than had previously been the case. According to Gilomee (2014:396), 'Shortly after he became prime minister, Botha said: "We are part of Africa and we must play that role, or we will die." The press adapted these words slightly and came up with the catch-phrase "adapt or die" to describe Botha's political approach.' A lot of change that took place during this time, was a consequence or reasoning of the 'adapt or die' slogan.

Meanwhile the participants continued to excel in their music careers, and with new opportunities opening they could finally envision a career in performance. However, owing to the situation in the country many preferred to take their careers abroad. In 1982 Leon Bosch started his studies at the Royal Northern College of Music with Rodney Slatford. At this time, many other participants began their international careers. In 1984, John Theodore participated in the Unisa International Piano Competition (then the Pretoria International Piano Competition). He was the only South African to reach the semi-final round. As a result, he was awarded the Norman Nossel prize and The Oude Meester prize which enabled him to travel

abroad. In the same year, Sidwell Hartman and his sister Jenifer Hartman made their overseas debut in the USA in Florida, which was followed by a six-week tour. In 1983 Hartman auditioned to study at the Juilliard School of Music, where he was accepted and was the first South African to receive a full scholarship from Juilliard. Hartman had been encouraged to audition by Wendy Ackerman, who sponsored his flight ticket and accommodation. He started his studies at the Juilliard School in 1984 and in 1985 he was awarded the Standard Bank Young Artists Award. In April 1987, Hartman was invited to join the Young Artists Program at the Juilliard Opera Center for the period 1987-1988. Larey applied successfully for the Fulbright Scholarship in 1985 and started his studies at the University of Cincinnati the following year, studying piano with Frank Weinstock.

In 1984 the South African parliament abandoned its exclusively Whites status, by making provision for representation by Coloureds and Indians as well. Black South Africans remained excluded, because they were supposed to exercise their political rights in their 'homelands'. Hence, 'the tricameral parliament came into being in September 1984. It comprised a white chamber, a coloured chamber, and an Indian chamber elected on separate voters roll according to 4:2:1 ratio that corresponded with the relative population size' (Gilomee, 2014:406). This ratio shows that the National Party government was not serious with political reform and that the tricameral parliament was consequently a sham since Whites retained control by giving themselves a built-in majority. However, the tricameral parliament meant that more money became available to these previously disadvantaged Coloured and Indian groups. 'Each chamber had its own cabinet and budget to deal with "own affairs" in its particular community, such as education, housing, and social services' (Gilomee, 2014:406). The point was to share power without losing control of it entirely. As previously mentioned, Black people were excluded from the tricameral parliament. 'The majority party in the white chamber could not be voted out (and thus lose power) because the opposition parties in the white house could not team up with the parties in the coloured and Indian houses' (Gilomee, 2014:406).

The idea behind the tricameral parliament remained parallel development, separate but equal, which actually equated to separate but unequal. The musicians which I interviewed for my research had completed their studies in South Africa by the time the tricameral parliament came into place. The education meted out to people of colour during apartheid did not reflect the promise of separate but equal. Opportunities opened up due to ongoing protest and unrest, here and all over the world. Despite these circumstances each of these musicians has had a successful career and life. However, many still have painful memories of this time when they

received a certain type of treatment because of the colour of their skin. In many instances they broke some of the first racial barriers in institutionalised Western classical music in South Africa. However, in other instances being Coloured meant they had to operate under the conditions of marginality, both within apartheid South Africa and after apartheid ended. Lewis (2020:14) describes this as follows: ‘I realised I had more privileges under apartheid when compared to my African peers who could not enter UCT as a student as I did... I had to come to terms with the fact that I was regarded as less than White but better than Black.’ Many have chosen to remain silent about their history because of the compromised position into which they had been cast during apartheid. Furthering one’s own interests under these conditions meant complying with the apartheid system. For this and other reasons, such as not wanting to relive or remember the most hurtful times, many have chosen not to speak about this time. However, it is important that we know these stories in order to break down the institutionalised discrimination under which these musicians had to operate, for if history is not known it is bound to be repeated. This research has aimed to document these stories which form part of our history. Although these musicians faced serious adversity, they managed to succeed in a time where the odds were against them. Today they have successful careers locally and/or abroad. They should be remembered, and their stories should be preserved.

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Appendix A



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jou kennisvenoot • your knowledge partner

DECLARATION OF CONSENT BY THE PARTICIPANT

As the participant I confirm that:

- I have read the above information and it is written in a language that I am comfortable with.
- I have had a chance to ask questions and all my questions have been answered.
- All issues related to privacy, and the confidentiality and use of the information I provide, have been explained.

By signing below, I MICHELE A. WILLIAMS (name of participant) agree to take part in this research study, as conducted by Caron Tremble (name of principal investigator).

M.A. Williams 05/05/2020
Signature of Participant **Date**

DECLARATION BY THE PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

As the **principal investigator**, I hereby declare that the information contained in this document has been thoroughly explained to the participant. I also declare that the participant has been encouraged (and has been given ample time) to ask any questions. In addition, I would like to select the following option:

	The conversation with the participant was conducted in a language in which the participant is fluent.
	The conversation with the participant was conducted with the assistance of a translator (who has signed a non-disclosure agreement), and this "Consent Form" is available to the participant in a language in which the participant is fluent.

Signature of Principal Investigator **Date**



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 jou kennis skool • your knowledge partner

DECLARATION OF CONSENT BY THE PARTICIPANT

As the participant, I confirm that:

- I have read the above information and it is written in a language that I am comfortable with.
- I have had a chance to ask questions and all my questions have been answered.
- All issues related to privacy, and the confidentiality and use of the information I provide, have been explained.

By signing below, I MARTIN PÖSTHANS (*name of participant*) agree to take part in this research study, as conducted by Caron Tremble (*name of principal investigator*).

Signature of Participant

5 August 2020
Date

DECLARATION BY THE PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

As the **principal investigator**, I hereby declare that the information contained in this document has been thoroughly explained to the participant. I also declare that the participant has been encouraged (and has been given ample time) to ask any questions. In addition, I would like to select the following option:

<input type="checkbox"/>	The conversation with the participant was conducted in a language in which the participant is fluent.
<input type="checkbox"/>	The conversation with the participant was conducted with the assistance of a translator (who has signed a non-disclosure agreement), and this "Consent Form" is available to the participant in a language in which the participant is fluent.

Signature of Principal Investigator

21/07/2020
Date



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DECLARATION OF CONSENT BY THE PARTICIPANT

As the participant I confirm that:

- I have read the above information and it is written in a language that I am comfortable with.
- I have had a chance to ask questions and all my questions have been answered.
- All issues related to privacy, and the confidentiality and use of the information I provide, have been explained.

By signing below, I John Theodore (*name of participant*) agree to take part in this research study, as conducted by Caron Tremble (*name of principal investigator*).

John Theodore
Signature of Participant

20 February 2020
Date

DECLARATION BY THE PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

As the **principal investigator**, I hereby declare that the information contained in this document has been thoroughly explained to the participant. I also declare that the participant has been encouraged (and has been given ample time) to ask any questions. In addition I would like to select the following option:

	The conversation with the participant was conducted in a language in which the participant is fluent.
	The conversation with the participant was conducted with the assistance of a translator (who has signed a non-disclosure agreement), and this "Consent Form" is available to the participant in a language in which the participant is fluent.

Caron Tremble
Signature of Principal Investigator

10/2/2020
Date



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DECLARATION OF CONSENT BY THE PARTICIPANT

As the participant I confirm that:

- I have read the above information and it is written in a language that I am comfortable with.
- I have had a chance to ask questions and all my questions have been answered.
- All issues related to privacy, and the confidentiality and use of the information I provide, have been explained.

By signing below, I Michael Arendse (*name of participant*) agree to take part in this research study, as conducted by Caron Tremblé (*name of principal investigator*).

M. S. Arendse
Signature of Participant

15/7/2020
Date

DECLARATION BY THE PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

As the **principal investigator**, I hereby declare that the information contained in this document has been thoroughly explained to the participant. I also declare that the participant has been encouraged (and has been given ample time) to ask any questions. In addition, I would like to select the following option:

The conversation with the participant was conducted in a language in which the participant is fluent.

The conversation with the participant was conducted with the assistance of a translator (who has signed a non-disclosure agreement), and this "Consent form" is available to the participant in a language in which the participant is fluent.

C. Tremblé
Signature of Principal Investigator

08.07.20
Date



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DECLARATION OF CONSENT BY THE PARTICIPANT

As the participant I confirm that:

- I have read the above information and it is written in a language that I am comfortable with.
- I have had a chance to ask questions and all my questions have been answered.
- All issues related to privacy, and the confidentiality and use of the information I provide, have been explained.

By signing below, I _____ (*name of participant*) agree to take part in this research study, as conducted by Caron Tremble (*name of principal investigator*).

 Signature of Participant

15/02/2020
 Date

DECLARATION BY THE PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

As the **principal investigator**, I hereby declare that the information contained in this document has been thoroughly explained to the participant. I also declare that the participant has been encouraged (and has been given ample time) to ask any questions. In addition I would like to select the following option:

<input type="checkbox"/>	The conversation with the participant was conducted in a language in which the participant is fluent.
<input type="checkbox"/>	The conversation with the participant was conducted with the assistance of a translator (who has signed a non-disclosure agreement), and this "Consent Form" is available to the participant in a language in which the participant is fluent.

 Signature of Principal Investigator

14/2/2020
 Date

Electronic consent template. REC: Humanities (Stellenbosch University) 2017



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 jou kennisvenster • your knowledge partner

DECLARATION OF CONSENT BY THE PARTICIPANT

As the participant I confirm that:

- I have read the above information and it is written in a language that I am comfortable with.
- I have had a chance to ask questions and all my questions have been answered.
- All issues related to privacy, and the confidentiality and use of the information I provide, have been explained.

By signing below, I Franklin Larey (*name of participant*) agree to take part in this research study, as conducted by Caron Terrible (*name of principal investigator*).

Franklin Larey
Signature of Participant

1/22/2020
Date

DECLARATION BY THE PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

As the **principal investigator**, I hereby declare that the information contained in this document has been thoroughly explained to the participant. I also declare that the participant has been encouraged (and has been given ample time) to ask any questions. In addition I would like to select the following option:

<input type="checkbox"/>	The conversation with the participant was conducted in a language in which the participant is fluent.
<input type="checkbox"/>	The conversation with the participant was conducted with the assistance of a translator (who has signed a non-disclosure agreement), and this "Consent Form" is available to the participant in a language in which the participant is fluent.

Caron Terrible
Signature of Principal Investigator

25/01/2020
Date



STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES

DECLARATION OF CONSENT BY THE PARTICIPANT

As the participant I confirm that:

- I have read the above information and it is written in a language that I am comfortable with.
- I have had a chance to ask questions and all my questions have been answered.
- All issues related to privacy, and the confidentiality and use of the information I provide, have been explained.

By signing below, I MICHAEL KEMPEN (name of participant) agree to take part in this research study, as conducted by Caron Tremble (name of principal investigator).

Michael Kempen 11/09/2020
Signature of Participant Date

DECLARATION BY THE PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

As the **principal investigator**, I hereby declare that the information contained in this document has been thoroughly explained to the participant. I also declare that the participant has been encouraged (and has been given ample time) to ask any questions. In addition, I would like to select the following option:

The conversation with the participant was conducted in a language in which the participant is fluent.

The conversation with the participant was conducted with the assistance of a translator (who has signed a non-disclosure agreement), and this "Consent Form" is available to the participant in a language in which the participant is fluent.

Tremble

10/9/2020

Signature of Principal Investigator

Date



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DECLARATION OF CONSENT BY THE PARTICIPANT

As the participant I confirm that:

- I have read the above information and it is written in a language that I am comfortable with.
- I have had a chance to ask questions and all my questions have been answered.
- All issues related to privacy, and the confidentiality and use of the information I provide, have been explained.

By signing below, I _____ (*name of participant*) agree to take part in this research study, as conducted by Caron Tremble (*name of principal investigator*).




Signature of Participant

Date

DECLARATION BY THE PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

As the **principal investigator**, I hereby declare that the information contained in this document has been thoroughly explained to the participant. I also declare that the participant has been encouraged (and has been given ample time) to ask any questions. In addition, I would like to select the following option:

<input type="checkbox"/>	The conversation with the participant was conducted in a language in which the participant is fluent.
<input type="checkbox"/>	The conversation with the participant was conducted with the assistance of a translator (who has signed a non-disclosure agreement), and this "Consent Form" is available to the participant in a language in which the participant is fluent.



Signature of Principal Investigator

21/08/2020

Date

DECLARATION OF CONSENT BY THE PARTICIPANT	
<p>As the participant I confirm that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• I have read the above information and it is written in a language that I am comfortable with.• I have had a chance to ask questions and all my questions have been answered.• All issues related to privacy, and the confidentiality and use of the information I provide, have been explained.	
<p>By signing below,  (name of participant) agree to take part in this research study, as conducted by Caron Tremble (name of principal investigator).</p>	
Signature of Participant	Date

Ethics letter-Paul Stevens